

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Association of History Teachers
OF THE
Middle States and Maryland

Number 24

1926

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A Strictly American Foreign Policy	<i>J. T. Shotwell</i>
History Textbooks and Truth	<i>D. R. Taft</i>
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History Placement Tests	<i>Ben D. Wood</i>
History and Other Social Studies	<i>A. C. Krey</i>

MEETINGS

NEW BRUNSWICK

BUFFALO

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NEW BRUNSWICK MEETING

May 7-8, 1926

RUTGERS COLLEGE, VAN NEST HALL

Friday Evening, May 7, 8:30 o'clock, at Dinner.

ADDRESSES—

- a. "*Some Paradoxes of Post-War Europe*", Professor William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania.
- b. "*A Strictly American Foreign Policy*", Professor James T. Shotwell, Director of Economics and History, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Saturday Morning, May 8, 9 o'clock,

JOINT SESSION with the New Jersey Association of the Teachers of the Social Studies.

GENERAL TOPIC "*The Search for Truth as a Basis for History Teaching.*"

- a. "*History Textbooks and Truth*," Professor Donald R. Taft, Wells College.
- b. "*Facts and Nordic Doctrine*", Professor Frank H. Hankins, Smith College.
- c. *Discussion*, Professor Parker T. Moon, Columbia University.

PARADOXES OF POST-WAR EUROPE

Post-war Europe presents many extremely complicated situations. Serious students of international affairs are perplexed and baffled by the many contradictory tendencies and forces which seem inexplicable in the light of past experience; paradoxes that cannot be solved by the postulates and axioms of pre-war days. Added to difficulties inherent in the problems themselves there is another difficulty that confronts the average American in his study of European conditions. It is the existence of a decided superiority complex when he compares or contrasts European countries with his own. Nations are not as a rule over-modest as to their national achievements and we are no exception in this respect. We have, moreover, become the creditor people of the world in recent years, and to our usual satisfaction with ourselves and our way of doing things we have now added a sort of creditor psychology.

From the point of view of our better understanding of Europe, or of their understanding us, this is particularly unfortunate at this time. The wounds of the war are still raw, and Europe is hypersensitive and critical. That is in part at least the explanation of the furor over Ambassador Houghton's note. Over-sensitive, especially to criticism from America, Europeans are very apt to retort by pointing to our liquor legislation, which they do not understand, to our reported disrespect for law, to our camouflaged imperialism and especially to our insistence on the terms of the bond in the matter of debts. They remind themselves of how we insisted on a League of Nations, forced it on them, and then went back on it, leaving the infant on Europe's doorstep.

On our part we find it hard to understand how a people like the French can be so completely carried away by hostile propaganda after the companionship in arms of the world war. In other words our policies are as illogical to them as theirs often are to us. Our idiosyncracies seem as queer to the European as his do to us. We are in the position of the dapper young city reporter with neatly

waxed moustache who was sent to Cape Cod by his senior editor to write up the fisher folk. Returning to the station with an old captain after a stay of several days he said "There certainly are many queer people in this place." "Yes," replied the captain, "August and September always brings down a good many." I once heard a scholar complain that the members of the Senatorial Commission with whom he had the pleasure of returning from Europe a few years before the war were sure that, if given six months, they could settle the whole Irish question.

There are many Americans at home and abroad in this frame of mind. Convinced that most of Europe's ills are of her own making and readily corrected, they fail to see how deeply rooted in the past they are. They grow impatient with the statesmen of the Old World. Like the Pharisees of scripture they lift up their skirts and pass by on the other side, forgetting that the parable of the good Samaritan is as applicable today as it was 2000 years ago. Why, they ask, does not Briand stop the leakage in the income tax returns? Why does he not make French agriculture pay its due share of taxation, balance the budget and come to an adjustment on the debt. These people plainly do not know the French peasant, or appreciate the fact that he is just as averse to paying taxes as we are; that he is politically so well organized and represented in parliament that no ministry can get on without his support. Our much discussed farm bloc a few years ago was a babe in the woods by comparison. Such people are equally confident that the doles problem could be readily solved, that there is an obvious explanation of Bolshevism, that Fascism is a passing and unimportant development, and that now, that the Security pacts are made, disarmament will progress rapidly.

Macauley says somewhere, "He alone reads history aright, who observing how powerfully circumstances influence the feeling and opinion of men, how vices pass into virtues and paradoxes into axioms, learns to distinguish what is accidental and transitory in human nature from what is essential and immutable." It is not easy to grasp fundamentals in a situation with so many paradoxes as that of present day Europe.

Nevertheless certain large events and movements of the post war years stand out clearly as of basic significance. Kaisers and Tsars have gone, and with them a host of little princes. Of the so called

great powers only two retain their kings, and in these the titular sovereign hardly rates with the extraordinary personalities like Mussolini, Chamberlain and others which democracy has thrown to the surface. Government is in the hands of the people, and old Europe has become republicanized. In harmony with this there is also the enfranchisement of women and the enlargement of the suffrage for men in many countries.

In the economic and social life of Europe a wholesale re-distribution of wealth has come about as a result of the inflated currency; entire classes in good circumstances before the war have lost everything, while others have become wealthy. For better or for worse it is one of the most drastic leveling processes that European society has undergone. Equally basic in its bearing on the future of Europe is the transformation of millions of agricultural laborers into peasant proprietors and the increase of the holdings or acreage of millions of others. Taken in connection with the re-distribution of wealth affecting all classes, it constitutes a silent revolution of great magnitude. Side by side with this, there is going on a revolution in the industrial regions of many parts of Europe. Electrification of water power on a vast scale is in progress with all the consequences attendant upon the use of electricity in place of coal. Industries, and with them, whole populations are beginning to shift from the old centres to new ones. France for example, will be a new country economically in another decade. The Dutch are engaged in a gigantic project of reclaiming the Zuyder Zee. When complete one of the most picturesque parts of Holland will disappear but there will be land for nearly a million people.

In practically every country legislators of recent years have given special attention to education; excellent modern school codes have been adopted and in many instances put into effect despite the weakness of the national finances. New and up to date schools are being erected and particular attention is being given to training of teachers. Closely allied with this are the great strides made in the direction of international co-operation. Whether we believe in the United States joining the League of Nations or not, the very existence of the League at Geneva is proving a tremendous stimulus to the development of an international attitude of mind. The habit of looking at questions from a larger point of view, and of thinking internationally, is being formed.

The importance of this cannot easily be overestimated, for when we turn from these larger and more hopeful signs of improvement the situation presents perplexities and difficulties that are extremely discouraging. Pathological conditions appear everywhere which call for expert study and diagnosis and the application of wise remedies, if they are not to affect the entire body politic of the old world. In cases they are like dragon's teeth ready to spring to life among the strange contradictions and paradoxes of reconstructed Europe.

First among the many paradoxes of post-war Europe is the multiplication of small states, the "Balkanization of Europe." Before the war it had almost been accepted as an axiom that progress lay in the establishment of larger and larger economic units. Yet in response to the pressure of nationalism, over-stimulated by the war time propaganda, this principle was largely ignored and eight new states were created. Each one of them is invested with sovereign rights which it guards with jealous care; each sets up high tariffs against its neighbors, and each, no matter how small, feels it a sacred duty to be fully armed against its neighbors. A series of barbed wire nationalistic frontiers have been established which are utterly out of accord with newer forces in the civilization of our time. Finance, commerce, art, science and modern transportation do not stop at political frontiers.

A more striking paradox, one which challenges explanation because of its contradictions, is the difference in the economic and financial conditions that prevail on the two sides of the Channel, that narrow strip of water less than twenty miles in width at the Dover-Calais crossing. On the English side, we have the conditions out of which came the great strike, economic depression, industries on part time, great ship yards idle and unemployment on a vast scale, nearly a million workers are on government doles. But in spite of it the pound sterling has held at around par, the budget is balanced, the national credit is good, and the debt question has been squarely met. On the French side, there is unprecedented economic activity, agriculture is prosperous after five successive years of good harvests, industry is working to capacity, there is not only no unemployment but there is steady importation of labor from Italy and Poland. And yet the budget has only been balanced after prolonged and costly effort, and now

mainly on paper, the franc is at less than one fifth its face value, the national credit is bad, and eight years after the war France has not adjusted her debt. South of the Channel a nation economically prosperous and solvent but financially almost bankrupt; to the north a nation financially solvent but economically in dire straits.

I am aware that there is the explanation that with an inflated currency there is fictitious business prosperity, and that the devastation of the war fell most heavily on France. But the fact remains that there are other equally important reasons, one obvious one being the fact that in a country 50% of whose wealth is in agriculture the agrarian interest, will not pay its share of the taxes. When Briand took over the reins of government many of the best thinkers on economic questions in France hoped for a tax program that would rally the patriotism of the nation to its support. One of them told me on the eve of the presentation of Loucheur's program "Now we will have a policy of *courage*." But even Loucheur did not have the courage. When the plan was announced the projects for a reassessment of agricultural values and for the correction of the leakage in income tax returns were absent.

Passing to the other extreme of Europe, the Near East, the student of history and of current events is confronted by another series of paradoxes. Why after the complete defeat of the Turk, his expulsion from Europe and the internationalization of the Constantinople and the Straits, do we find him again re-established and intrenched there? Even Adrianople has been restored to his possession. Why of all the defeated powers was this *alien* in Europe alone capable of defying the Allies and of tearing up that part of the Paris treaties which applied to him? Perhaps it should have been torn up. I'm not discussing the question whether the Turk has a right to rule in Constantinople. I am merely drawing attention to the fact that after being kicked out of Europe, "bag and baggage," to use Gladstone's phrase, we find him again in full possession of this wonderful city, rich as Rome itself in tradition and history. The great Basilicas of Byzantine days are again turned into the mosques of Mohammed and the graceful white minarets continue to stand as Moslem guardians at the portals of these early Christian churches. On the heights of Pera stands the rugged tower of the Genoese, an emblem of the com-

mercial spirit of western Europe, overlooking the deep blue waters of the Bosphorus and of the Golden Horn, where, even now, despite the general paralysis of the trade of the Black Sea Basin, lie scores of ships laden with the commerce of the region. Constantinople lies at the strategic point, the intersection of the landroute from Europe to Asia, and of the water route from southern Russia and the Danube to the Mediterranean. It is one of the most favorably located cities of the world and it is strange that it should again be in Turkish hands. How the great forces of geography and history will ultimately dispose of it, is interesting food for speculation.

In the meantime a new Turkey, as far removed from the old Turkey as one can well imagine, is in the making. If one has been brought up on Kipling's idea that "East is East and West is West," Turkey of to-day is a paradox and a disillusionment.

Under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Turkish nationalists proclaimed a republic, set up their capital at Angora in the interior of Asia Minor, adopted a modern constitution, and replaced the name "Ottoman Empire" by that of "Turkey". They abolished the Sultanate, and in 1924 adventured the bold steps of destroying *the age old institution of the Caliphate of Islam*, sacred in the eyes of the Mohammedan world. This was followed by the abolition of the Sheriat or body of religious laws and the adoption of a vigorous policy for the secularizing and nationalizing of education.

"Religious studies", said Edebey, "must be removed from the schools altogether; religious education must be left to the home." "We are in a stage of nationalism," said the minister of Education, Semiet Refat, in 1923, "Our educational aims will be humanitarian but at the same time very nationalistic. Its basis can be summed up in two words, national culture and modernized teaching * * *."

In harmony with this spirit of nationalism, foreign schools like Robert College are obliged to devote an unusual amount of time each week to the Turkish language, the government authorities seeing to it that the work is seriously done. Foreign text books in history, for example, are carefully scrutinized and if the old hostility to Turkey appears too strong they are suppressed unless author and publisher agree to a revision.

Woman is being emancipated. The harem and the veil have gone, as have the red fez and wide trousers of the men; all abolished by law. Much of the color and mystery of the streets of Constantinople has been destroyed and there is much grumbling, but the government rules with a hand of iron. Further, the European system of reckoning the day from midnight instead of from sunset, and the years from the birth of Christ instead of from the flight of Mohammed from Mecca in 622, has been adopted. New codes based on those of western Europe have been introduced. The Civil Code is virtually that of Switzerland, the Commercial Code is drawn directly from the German, while the Penal Code is taken from the Italian. There is a vigorous policy for the promotion of industry, trade and agriculture. Burdensome and obnoxious taxes, like the twelve per cent agricultural tithe, have been replaced by a modern sales tax, and government aid to agriculture, industry and commerce on a costly scale are granted. To the political revolution is thus being added a thorough going social and economic revolution.

While at Constantinople I came in contact with another strange paradox of the new order, in the desperate state of that unhappy body of Russian exiles. They are the *intelligenstia*, the aristocracy and the best of the middle class of Russia. Ten years ago they were still rich and powerful. Now they are without a country, wretched and in poverty. Can there be anything more paradoxical than a sleeping car porter with the manners and the air of a Russian grand duke. Mine had been a colonel in the Tsarist army and a wealthy landowner. Through my friend I met one evening at Sofia a former governor of one of the richest provinces of European Russia. He had a job as a handy man at a local photographers, and his charming daughter was earning her pittance to keep her little family together by translating. Scores of such paradoxes could be cited. In every capital of Europe, in Constantinople, in Sofia, in Belgrade, in Prague, Warsaw, Rome, Berlin and Paris this numerous unhappy people are found struggling against hopeless odds while their native land is in the hands of the Bolshevists.

To some, Bolshevism is not a paradox. It is the natural result, the logical outcome, of autocracy and Tsarist despotism in a country with a population still largely illiterate. To the great majority of Americans, however, Bolshevism after nine years of

Soviet rule continues to be very much of an enigma. We know too little of this extraordinary experiment on the eastern confines of Europe to judge it fairly.

For the time being at least political democracy is trampled under foot, and the hierarchy of Soviets is so well organized that any expression of the will of the people is extremely difficult. Certain tendencies are, however, manifesting themselves. Among them not the least interesting is the return to the recognition of property and a drift towards a capitalistic state of a new type. On leaving Titcherlin, a well known French journalist asked him this significant question: "If in ten years from now you become the great capitalistic state and we the radical, will you recognize us?"

But the paradoxes of western Europe are quite numerous enough without looking for them in Russia. Why after a war in which so much emphasis was laid upon "the removal so far as possible of economic barriers", are there now many more such restrictions and obstacles? According to the League of Nations Danube Commission there are at present six tariff and police jurisdictions on the Danube between Linz and the Rumanian frontier where formerly there was only one? The succession states of the Austrian empire used to enjoy freedom of trade among themselves; today each has its tariff walls erected against its neighbors. The Irish Free State has a tariff not only against Great Britain but it also maintains a vigorous tariff wall against Ulster.

Where a country is sufficiently strong she forces her products on others as in the case of France and Norway. The Norwegians have prohibited all alcoholic drinks save light wines and beers. When the commercial treaties with France came up for discussion, Norway was told that in return for the importation of her fish into France, she must import French brandy despite her prohibition. Every year she must take 400,000 litres of French brandy containing about 30% alcohol. Similar arrangement had to be made with other countries, especially with Spain and Portugal, with the result that good will is undermined and incidentally a huge supply of good cognac and other strong liquors is being imported and stored despite the fact that they are prohibited by law. Of course, they see the paradox, and last summer a spirited debate occurred in the Norwegian parliament on the disposition of the supply of cognac. The debate brought out the fact that a

proposal to re-export it had met with a stiff reprimand from France; the cognac was for Norwegian consumption. The proposal of a Communist deputy to pour it into the street also called out a protest from the French embassy.

Why after a war to end militarism should the race on armaments be on again? Poverty stricken Poland spends forty percent of her annual budget on military matters as against about one fourth the amount on education. The military budget of Europe is as great as it was before the war, despite the disarming of Germany and her allies, and the armaments are, of course, vastly more powerful as destructive agents. The story in recent years of the Tyrol, Mosul, Syria and Morôcco furnishes conspicuous examples of imperialism which was so severely denounced during the war.

Why after our denunciation of economic imperialism should we be confronted today by a powerful tendency towards economic monopolies under political auspices? "More and more," said a representative of the British Labor party in this country recently, "the governments of our time will enter the market as buyers of the great staple commodities." The late difficulties between the British and Mr. Hoover over rubber was brought about by just this situation. The measure passed by the Chamber of Deputies but temporarily rejected by the Senate creating a government monopoly of oil and sugar is another illustration of this tendency. In the meantime we control copper, cotton, petroleum and wheat and there are men high in authority who suggest making use of our great economic advantage for political ends.

But by far the greatest of the post war paradoxes after a war to make the world safe for democracy is the drift toward autocracy and despotism in government. During the war we rid the world of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs and the Romanovs. They are gone. But some of the things they stood for are re-appearing. At Rome, Madrid, Budapest, Athens, Constantinople and Moscow despotism and autocracy are in control. Mussolini and Fascism seem to be as arbitrary and despotic as the Tsars. General Rivera has brushed aside all parliamentary government in Spain, the "tyrant" in Greece, like Kemal Pasha in Turkey, rules by force, while the Bolsheviks boast they count on their party following of about 600,000 to maintain their rule over Russia's population of one hundred and twenty five millions. Political liberty is crushed.

Toleration has been cast to the winds. Nor is it confined to these countries. Fascism in some of its manifestations may be unique but in principle it is not new. In one form or another it is appearing in at least half of the world, and throughout the rest, to quote a recent writer, "it is the envy of all Tories." In every country, not excluding our own, there are strong tendencies in this direction. Writing of America a short time ago Hillaire Belloc said: "The American people of today differ from the European of today in this: that they have retained in a very large degree the institutions of monarchy and are daily increasing it." Of course, we don't agree, but it is an interesting comment by a shrewd observer on the extension of certain tendencies even in America. While in France during January, I frequently heard men express the wish that a strong man might arise who would assume control, ignore the factions of the Chamber and restore order in the national finances.

The advocates of this latest manifestation of rule by force claim that it has become a necessity. Confusion, inefficiency and anarchy have been increasing steadily. Parliamentary government is breaking down and the institutions of civilizations are endangered. *Self-government* they say, is no longer *safe* government, it has ceased to function.

When the workmen of north Italy seized the factories, and the agricultural laborers of the south seized the land, Giolotti's socialist government failed to suppress them, offering rather to compromise. Then the big interests in industry and finance, the wealthy land holders and even the bureaucracy, discovered in the extreme nationalistic fascisti the instrument forged to their purpose. They found in Mussolini and Fascism, with its strong appeal to patriotism, to youth and to action, the means to re-establish law and order and a measure of economic prosperity. Into the political philosophy the Fascists have recently developed in support of their system, I cannot enter. In general it asserts the claims of society over those of the individual, of national progress over that of liberalism and mere political liberty. Fascism, it is announced, is a system, a state, not a party. If like Bolshevism it rests its rule largely on force, the retort is that it has saved Italy from anarchy and that such an end justifies the means. Besides, say the apostles of Fascism, "What is freedom?" No two generations agree or define it alike. Even our dictionaries differ widely

in their definitions. Economic freedom and national prosperity, the fascisti claim, are more important than political liberty.

The tendency towards Fascism and reaction need not, it seems to me, cause any serious anxiety. I do not believe it has come to stay. It is the usual thing after a war. Besides even Mussolini keeps an ear to the ground. When he hears the rumblings of discontent becoming too strong he delivers himself of one of his patriotic speeches. It diverts attention, and so long as things are going well in Italy, a little chauvinism can do no harm even though the situation is giving the friends of internationalism very anxious moments.

Besides whatever the strength of reaction at this time, it may be accepted as axiomatic that neither Mussolini or Lenin, any more than their prototype Napoleon, can arrest or adjust the laws of human progress. For centuries there has been a constant development towards the extension of democracy; that is the placing of government into the hands of more and more of the people, the guarantee of liberty of speech and of opinion, of equality of opportunity and, in more recent times, of social justice. Fascism, like Benevolent Despotism and all government based on the Divine Right Theory is, on its political side at least, altogether out of accord with the progress of history.

Far more serious than Fascism and the other reactionary movements is the fact that democracy seems to be breaking down. Self government, particularly parliamentary government, is in disrepute and we may well give heed to Aristotle's warning spoken two thousand years ago. "The mere establishment of a democracy," said he, "is not the only or the principal business of the legislators, a far greater difficulty is the preservation of it." To succeed in this more difficult task, the democracy of our day must give more attention to education of the right sort. There must be less emphasis upon mere factual information and more upon the training of the mind. There must be developed a desire and a love for basic facts, the habit of weighing and appraising them, of discovering causal relations and drawing sound conclusions, and finally courage and fearlessness in support of them.

Fortunately there is another side of the picture. By the side of these strange contradictions and paradoxes there is the solid achievement of post-war reconstruction. After years of hesita-

tion, suspicion and fear, Europe seems to be settling down to work and a more normal existence. The new nations are setting their house in order and working hard to balance their budget. Everywhere there are coming into existence great numbers of new peasant landholders. The large landed estates are being broken up and a sort of silent social and economic revolution is in progress, which will have a strong steadying influence. Education is spreading rapidly. Its importance is generally recognized. People in every country are well aware that the post-war dictatorships appeared in the countries with greatest percentage of illiteracy.

Closely associated with the revival of interest in education is the more recent tendency toward the discussion and study of international questions. The people of the world are becoming acquainted with each other and acquiring the habit of thinking internationally. A basis for co-operation is slowly being laid. The League of Nations is contributing greatly toward the realization of this. It has happily solved important political disputes which might have resulted in war, and it is directing and carrying on numerous humanitarian and social activities of great value. Most important of all, however, is the fact that it affords the machinery for the handling of international difficulties in accordance with a scientific technique which has been worked out during the six years of the Leagues activities. This does not mean that the League of Nations is a ready cure for all international ills. Even if the United States were to join, the difficulties would remain. Our entry into the League might solve some but it would give rise to others. In the opinion of many, the League and the United States for the present can function quite as well separately in the interests of co-operation.

Further it can only injure the cause of international co-operation if its well wishers continue to expect too much from the League. Human nature will remain the same in the League as it was without. In this respect the leopard does not change his spots. The wheelbarrow does not become an automobile by being pushed into a garage. On the other hand, altogether too much emphasis has been put upon this. The claim that human nature does not change, may or may not be true. Man may continue a fighting animal in spite of the League and the progress of civilization, but it does not follow that he will continue to settle his difficulties by fighting. Nothing could be more fallacious than the as-

sumption on the basis of the assertion that human nature does not change, that anarchy must prevail in the international relations between states. It is not a question of changing human nature, it is a question of giving society the means of adjusting its problem by legal process rather than by violence. The fighting instinct may be just as strong as ever but man is becoming more and more a reasoning animal and it is pretty generally agreed that attempts to settle disputes by fighting rarely, if ever, settle anything. The difficulties usually remain, though often in new forms, and the so-called cure is worse than the disease.

This is certainly the position now taken by all reasoning people in regard to disputes between individuals. If this were not so, we would still be going about with revolvers to defend our rights. Instead, we prefer, most of us at least, the saner method of adjusting our difficulties by arbitration or in the courts of the law. The club of the cave man and the mailed fist of feudal times has been superseded by the authority of the law, because it became necessary.

The elimination of war and anarchy among people is proceeding slowly. The pressure of economic necessity coupled with common sense and the sad realization of the horrors and wastefulness of war is working irresistibly toward its elimination. Thus far, the League of Nations is the most advanced outpost in the movement. It should have the support of every thinking person. It is beset with many difficulties. It got away to a bad start at Versailles; many of the evils of pre-war diplomacy still remain; enemies, aptly described as old beasts in the new lair, are working in the heart of the League, and there are serious defects in its organization. Those who have followed the work of the League and watched the Assembly and the Council at work have been forced to realise that the Covenant, drawn up under the stress of the war psychology, and intimately linked up with the post-war treaty arrangements, has certain drawbacks which greatly hamper the progress of international organization and co-operation. But these should not be taken too seriously. The constitutions of national states have been, and are, the subject of constant revision, even when, like our own, they are written and almost sacro-sanct to many. The same evolutionary development must attend the world's progress towards international organization. In principle, the sudden

emergence of the demand, arising out of Locarno, for a modification of the membership of the all-powerful Council of the League seems to me a very wholesome symptom, even though the circumstances that called it forth are unfortunate. Law and order and centralized governments were established by a slow and arduous process. The much more difficult task of establishing international government will not be accomplished in any other manner.

In this gradual process education and economic necessity are already appearing as the dynamic factors. If there is anything in the welter of distracted post-war Europe that is driven in on the mind of the thoughtful observer, it is the constant pressure of economic necessity; the operations of those hidden currents flowing continuously beneath the surface of political history and ultimately dominating it. It was economic and political necessity that brought about the destruction of feudal anarchy and the setting up of strong national governments at the close of the middle ages. Similar forces are operating to put an end to the international anarchy of our day, and to him who has eyes to see, the ultimate solution is manifest. Indeed it may be much nearer attainment than most men believe. Short cuts will be found on the road. Forces on the side of international organization and co-operation have reached such proportions, and their growth, stimulated by modern science, is so rapid, that it would be folly to predict their impotence, even in the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles.¹

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

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A STRICTLY AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Last year, on Armistice Day, I delivered the address at Robert College, Constantinople. It would be hard to imagine a more interesting audience to address on an occasion like that, drawn as it was from all the nations of southeastern Europe where war had been a commonplace throughout all modern, as well as medieval and ancient history, and where, if any place in the world, the hope of peace to which that Day is dedicated would seem the most unreal. To those young men, so many of whom had fought during the World War on hostile fronts, the institution of war has been not only legitimate in their traditions and society; it has been essential for the liberation of the oppressed; and only by its organized machinery could the oppressors rule. Bulgar, Greek and Armenian had risked their all in the struggle with the Turk; and the Turk in turn based his very claim to rule upon the fear of the sword. It would be hard to find any other student body in the world whose home experience from childhood on had schooled them so definitely in that theory of society which regards war as inevitable. And yet the very existence of Robert College and the very fact of their presence there, studying on a common basis, and learning to appreciate the common heritage of civilization, was an outstanding contradiction to this old-time tradition of their village firesides. Those to whom war is such a constant menace and whose history is so interwoven with its tragedies and its achievements are not likely to be unduly optimistic over theories of universal peace unless those theories correspond to the hard realities of their own lives. But something was happening down there in the Balkans even while we were talking which gave a new turn to the perspective of international life, an incident that awakened but a temporary interest in America but which, in that part of the world from which the World War itself sprang, gave a new vitality to the forces which make for peace.

Only a week or two before Armistice Day a war had been averted in the Balkans which, had it broken out, would almost certainly have imperilled the whole world's peace. The frontier between Bulgaria and Greece along the hills that look down upon the Aegean is one which neither side willingly accepts. The Greeks hold it but the Bulgars claim it. It is no part of our story here to

decide where the justice in the case lies. But the mountaineers of Thrace and Macedonia have never been accustomed to await any other tribunal than their own strong local sense of right and wrong. It is the land where guns go off of their own accord and life has always been accounted cheap, especially in connection with feuds and border raids. So, somehow, fighting began in a lonely outpost where Greek guards were apparently attacked by Bulgars. Whatever the opening incident, it was at once taken up by the Greeks in the way in which quarrels in Macedonia had always been taken up in the past. The Greek army formed behind the hills and marched over the mountain roads into Bulgaria. It was a full-sized Greek army marching in battle formation with field artillery and all the appurtenances of war. Another army was rushed up to the base behind and held in reserve. The peasants from some forty Bulgar villages fled in terror at the approach of the Greeks, and spread in panic down into the Bulgarian plain towards Philippolis and Sofia. The Bulgar army limited and slight as it was, owing to the terms of the Peace Treaty, got ready to defend Bulgaria against the Greek advance.

Let us see for a moment what would have likely happened had the incident taken place prior to 1914. First of all, Bulgaria would turn to Russia. There are the strongest possible ties, historical and cultural as well as political, to bind Bulgaria to the great homeland of the Slavs. Imagine, then, the Soviets drawn to help the Bulgar peasants and profiting from the circumstance to plant themselves and their doctrines as well at Sofia. With the Soviets moving in to help Bulgaria, Rumania would find its Bessarabian frontiers overrun; and once Rumania is engaged in a campaign against Bulgaria the Rumanian Treaty of Alliance with Poland would inevitably draw Poland into war with Russia as well. For Rumania and Poland have a treaty of mutual defense which is directed solely against the danger to either one of invasion from Russia.

Meanwhile, the Yugoslavs can hardly fail to see their chance for Salonika; even during the autumn of 1925 the Greeks proclaimed that the Yugoslav mountaineers on the hills of Macedonia were being so directed that they constituted a threat to seize the railroad lines to that one great port for the valley that leads through the Macedonian hills towards Belgrade. With Yugoslavia in-

volved in a Salonika adventure, working jointly with the Bulgars to push the Greek from the fringe of seacoast along the Aegean, and with Rumania engaged in a hard struggle with the Soviet, that would be the time for the Magyar to strike once more against the harsh terms of the Peace Treaty which keeps him from the Danube on the south and the Carpathian Hills. The Little Entente is then called into action, involving Czechoslovakia in the very heart of Europe. Would it not seem natural then, with Poland and Czechoslovakia both directing their forces to the south and east, for the Germans—I am speaking now not of a Europe of today but of a Europe of 1914—to retake the corridor that separates them from East Prussia and perhaps the disputed Silesia? With war on the east, Poland would then invoke her French alliance. The armies of France would bore through the Vosges to the cities of the Rhineland. And, since Germany's industrial organization is more nearly restored than that of any other European country, the balance of war might be so even as to draw in the rest of the civilized world once more.

This is no fanciful picture. It is most likely what would have happened had the world remained under the same state system as that of 1914. But instead, the war of 1925 was a war that never happened! For during those very hours of suspense and terror on the Bulgarian frontier the Council of the League of Nations met in Paris, calling its members together by cable and wireless. The Foreign Minister of Sweden flew in his airplane from Stockholm down to France, and in a relatively short time the Bulgar and the Greek envoys were summoned to a Council meeting. Monsieur Briand presided. Turning first to the Bulgar envoy he gave him a chance to speak. But when this Minister started to plead the justice of the Bulgar case, Monsieur Briand stopped him abruptly, much to the Bulgar's surprise, and said (in substance) "This is not what we are met to discuss. There is only one question before us. Will you, or will you not, cease warlike preparations and accept the judgment of a Commission to be appointed by the League which will ultimately study the problem on the ground and deliver its judgments?" The Bulgar, readily assenting, said "Yes" and then sat down. Turning then to the Greek, Monsieur Briand repeated the question in identical terms. The Greek protested somewhat, but then consented as well.

The army of Greece was withdrawn to its own territories. The Bulgar troops brought back their refugees to their deserted villages; and a commission, drawn from a half dozen different European nations, came down to take evidence in Sofia, in the hills of Macedonia, and in Athens itself. I was present in Athens when the commission met there. It was a unique experience for those governments to have to justify, in their own capitals and before a committee of neutrals, acts which formerly had had no other tribunal than that of the sword.

What was the result? Tonight the agencies of the League are watching on the hills of Macedonia, preserving peace in the name of a community of nations whose seat is at Geneva. I bring this incident before you, not for the sake of the League of Nations or its cause, but for something else in that incident. The war was really stopped by the application of a definition of aggressive war which had been accepted by the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1924 and has become a basis of the Treaty of Locarno. *That Power is an aggressor which goes to war refusing the appropriate and established means of peaceful settlement.* Greece or Bulgaria, either one, had it gone into war rejecting the proposal for a commission of investigation, would have been adjudged an aggressor from that time on, no matter what its previous seeming justification. The question as put by Monsieur Briand was not "What is the justice of the case?" but "Will you stop fighting and submit the case to the appropriate tribunal?"

This definition of aggression has been embodied in Locarno. Britain comes to the help of that Power which suffers from an attack by another Power that refuses to plead its case in the international tribunals appointed for it. This country has not accepted yet any such test of aggression, for it involves an acceptance of international justice in the long run to which we have not yet subscribed. Few of us are really aware how far behind the rest of the world we are in erecting the alternatives for war. We talk of peace in the same narrow sense that we talk of justice and goodness; but peace is not a vague sentiment. It is a political relationship, definite and exacting. It can only be maintained by the erection of institutions which function properly in times of crises, and enable governments to adjust their controversies and their

quarrels without having to appeal to that last argument of force which has always been the threat, if not the reality, in diplomacy.

It is not enough to erect a world court limited to those cases which are violations of contract or of law. For most of the quarrels which bring war lie outside the law and are exactly those issues which we reserve under the caption of national honor and vital interest. It is not enough to have a possible recourse to arbitration, for, if it is only a possible recourse, our neighbors will never know for sure when we will accept it for our means of settling our disputes with them. There must be compulsory and unescapable recourse to the *appropriate means* of peaceful settlement, or else the nations of the world will arm as they have always done and protect themselves against a possible attack. The definition of aggression applied in the case of Bulgaria and Greece is capable of application between all nations, and when we learn to accept it for ourselves, for our own United States, we shall have taken the greatest step towards the elimination of war itself. For if we regard that nation as an aggressor which goes to war refusing appropriate means of settlement, then we must build up appropriate means, and we shall find even for questions of national honor and vital interest that there is a method of settlement appropriate to them through conciliation and mediation, if not through the courts. This is the meaning of Locarno, which offers the court and arbitration for matters suitable for settlement by binding tribunals and a commission of conciliation for political issues not suitable for submission to judicial settlement. But every signatory to Locarno must accept the appropriate body for each issue which comes before it and in no case turn to the alternative of war.

This is a kind of treaty which the United States could make and which it should make with those Powers in whose good will it can trust. But we have a long way to go in this country before we are ready to accept these far-reaching devices for peace which are binding Europe into a new community of nations. There will have to be much education of the American public as to the proper scope of conciliation and of arbitration before we can make our Locarno effective. The day will come undoubtedly when we shall enter this community of nations through treaties like these, if not in more formal ways. But in the interval, there is something very definite for us to do.

We have heard much recently of the Commission of Disarmament working at Geneva. Sometimes we are told that it has been a failure and that this work has amounted to nothing. This is not the case. But, whatever disarmament conference may eventually come from its labors, there is no thoroughgoing movement possible towards disarmament until this country restates its position with reference to the laws of neutrality. At present, as you will remember from the World War, it is the theory of international law that the citizens of a neutral state have the right to ship arms to any belligerent. This is not a violation of neutrality under the existing law. It is only when the state itself sends its munitions that it becomes non-neutral. But if the states at war have previously signed a Locarno, or accepted the Covenant of the League of Nations by which they agree to a test of aggression which brands the assailant as the aggressor if he goes to war refusing justice, then if we insist upon the shipment of our arms to that aggressor, we become parties to his aggression and fellow criminals with him in it. There should be a statement from our government, a solemn pronouncement that would rank in history with the Monroe Doctrine or the doctrine of the Open Door, that our government would not so interpret the privileges of neutrality as to become the accomplice of an aggressor self-confessed through the violation of its own pledge.

If we were to deny the rich resources of our country to any Power that was plotting aggression, the plotting would be largely hindered at the start. But we are not concerned at this moment with the guilt of other nations but with the fact that unless we do make some such statement as this, the other Powers of the world cannot go on hopefully building up any plan of disarmament; for if our supplies of arms and munitions are readily available as they were in 1914, it is of minor importance for Europe to destroy its own munition plants, its Krupps, Armstrongs, and Creusots, when Pittsburgh and Bethlehem Steel and Bridgeport are at the disposal of the belligerents. Here at least is one step we can take, even without entering Court or League. The duty of taking this step confronts us now.

I have tried to sketch a page of history which is little understood in this country. So far it has been primarily a page of European history. We have inherent difficulty in understanding it, not to

speaking of participating in it. It is not simply our distance from the scene of action which makes it difficult for us to understand the drift of events beyond the Atlantic. There is a historical difficulty as well, in this instance; one of which historians and teachers of history are perhaps not fully aware. For, by a strange paradox, we are probably contributing to it unconsciously. Let me state it in terms of an incident which happened to me last Spring. The editor of one of the most important journals of Europe, during a visit to this country, said to me that he had been puzzled by the emphasis placed in this country upon national sovereignty, and that he at last had found out one of the reasons for this in terms of our history and of our teaching of civics. I wonder how many of you could guess the point which lay in his mind. He said, "No other nation recites a Declaration of Independence the way Americans do. No European students are brought up on the implied suggestion that their country has been cut off from other countries to begin its own career as a fit embodiment of the culture and traditions of a nation. There have been other similar revolutions establishing independence, as for instance in the case of little Belgium, or more recently in the case of Czechoslovakia; but in no other country is there such a doctrine of sovereignty implied in the instrument which was responsible for its independent life." I had never thought of this until the European visitor pointed it out. The Declaration of Independence was in its day a challenge to a then existent evil, but that challenge was stated in terms of a general doctrine and a doctrine reinterpreted as an underlying protest against any outside interference with the absolute rights of the sovereign American nation. This historical event, unique in our own annals, has perhaps played a larger role in the moulding of the subconscious outlook and tendency which gives direction to the mind of a nation, as it does to that of an individual.

I do not ask you to lessen in any degree the emphasis in the teaching of American history of the Declaration of Independence; but while the emphasis may stand, there should undoubtedly be greater care in the interpretation of its bearing upon American history. Unconscious emphasis and insistence upon absolute sovereignty is greater in this country than any place else in the civilized world. In so far as it safeguards the rights of America from outside interference the emphasis upon sovereignty may

stand; but if it is allowed to block the fulfilment of America's duty to the rest of the world, if it is permitted to destroy the orientation of American thought and to create in us a tendency toward that unconscious hypocrisy which regards the rest of the world as inferior to ourselves, then the emphasis upon sovereignty must yield to a critical knowledge of where it has led us.

Just what does this mean in more definite terms? So far we have been talking in the language of general theory. Our isolation from the European involvement—in fulfilment of the old doctrine expressed by Washington—has led this country to be one of the chief supporters of neutrality in time of war. By remaining neutral we hope that we could lessen the scope of war until it would finally reach a vanishing point. This insistence upon neutrality rights seemed throughout the nineteenth century to be almost an equivalent of a policy looking towards peace. The World War and the subsequent election of the League of Nations has changed all this in ways which I have just indicated. War between states which have signed the Covenant of the League of Nations is no longer what war used to be. In the old days, when any sovereign state was free to use military or naval force for the effective prosecution of its policies, war had no moral content, no legal reprobation. The signatories of the League of Nations now live under a different regime. Still more definitely is this the case in the Locarno treaties. We have got back to the doctrine of Grotius at the beginning of international law that there are good and bad wars. Bad wars are those which violate the pledges to preserve the peace, as in the Covenant and Locarno, and good wars are those of defense against attempted aggression. Recall once more the definition of aggression which brands that Power as an aggressor which goes to war refusing the pertinent, established, and accepted method of peaceful settlement. Henceforth, the Power that breaks this rule becomes, by its own act, an easily identified aggressor. The international law of the world has been changed. One cannot change so vital a matter without affecting our relation to it. When we insist upon the ancient rights of neutrality, what is our situation? We should be insisting that the powers at war—both the aggressor and the defensive Powers waging police war in mutual defense to put down the aggressor—should alike have the privilege of our markets

and our supplies for the private shipment of arms or other supplies—the only risk being that assumed by the private owner. We should as a nation be insisting that this privilege be available for both the aggressor and the aggressed alike. This at least is our legal situation now. It is obviously immoral.

A reform, therefore, is frankly due in the adjustment of our relationship to the entire system which centers at Geneva.

Fortunately there are two precedents which are rooted in American policy and have nothing whatever to do with the League of Nations. In 1912, President Taft by joint resolution of Congress was empowered to forbid shipment of arms to American countries where conditions of domestic violence existed; in 1922, the same resolution was re-enacted and was extended to any country in which the United States “exercised extra-territorial jurisdiction.” Three times these powers granted by the resolution have been exercised by the Presidents of the United States. By President Wilson, on the 14th of March, 1912, and the 19th of October 1915, and by President Coolidge on the 7th of January, 1924. These two precedents could be made the basis of a very sweeping readjustment of the international law of neutrality. If instead of Mexico and China the principle were to be applied to any state which had become a law breaker among nations, by going to war in violation of its own pledge not to do so, contrary to Court or arbitration or other established peaceful means of settlement, then the United States would have adjusted itself to the coöperative effort of international peace represented by the League of Nations. As I have already stated the formula, we should then simply declare that we would not permit the shipment of supplies to that nation who, in the judgment of our Executive, has gone to war in violation of its pledges that it would settle its difficulties through the Court or League.

This, of course, would be a unilateral statement of American doctrine and not binding except as our good faith was engaged in the declared intention. The further step, of course, would be taken in due time of having such a policy embedded in the contract formed by a treaty or treaties, so that the rest of the world would know definitely that we were obligated to act in such and such ways. Moreover, there is a further need for this joint agreement as otherwise, with the doctrine of neutrality not formally

restated and agreed to by both parties, we would under present international law invite the interpretation on the part of the belligerents of having become participants in belligerency. The scope and implications of the action should be carefully defined; and this can only be done in a new international conference on international law.

Turning from law to policy let us see where such a suggestion as this will lead us. This country withheld its allegiance to the League of Nations largely because of a fear that we should become involved in the police action of the League in wars that were not our own, and so involved in European politics as to imperil our security. Here is a way of assisting the stabilizing action of the League, of coöperating with its policies in the prevention of war, without becoming involved ourselves. The safeguards to prevent our further involvement could be worked out in the newer conception of neutrality. Thus there seems to be a line of policy open to us which would not keep us where we are at present,—the potential accomplices of those states nourishing plans of aggressive war against the new and fragile structure of a community of nations towards whose organization and completion the hopes of the world are concentrated even now—hopes fraught at the same time with the poignant memories of a tragedy which has entered into millions of homes with the reminder that the greatest issue before the world at the present time is that to which this country has not as yet fully adjusted itself—namely world peace.

JAMES T. SHOTWELL

HISTORY TEXTBOOKS AND TRUTH

Despite the wording of my topic my task this morning is not to compare textbooks and truth. I am not asked to examine the truth or falsity of specific statements in history textbooks. That is the extraordinarily difficult task of a highly specialized type of historian. I am not such a specialist. I am not even an historian.

I suppose I owe the honor of this opportunity to address you, to the fact that I have been comparing not textbooks with truth, but textbooks with other textbooks. By selecting textbooks in use in different countries, and setting side by side in parallel columns the treatment in them of the same historical events, I have been able to demonstrate wide discrepancies in the accounts. Now textbooks which flatly contradict each other cannot all be telling the truth. When one American text tells pupils that the Treaty of Versailles is the faithful expression of the pre-war (Fourteen Point) agreement; and another American text tells pupils that the framers of the treaty broke that agreement, one book or the other misrepresents. Similarly when French children read that Germany was solely responsible for the Great War and German children read that certain Allied countries were responsible, the two groups of children cannot help disagreeing with each other on that point. And these two questions being highly charged with emotional content such disagreement verges into popular hatred, and popular hatred is one of the causes of war. Now it does not require an expert historian to discover such disagreements in textbooks—a humble student of social science will do.

Time will not permit my presenting much of the evidence from the textbooks. Such evidence is available. Brief samples of it are before you on the charts. Longer quotations have been published and I have a few with me. Other students have gathered and are now gathering material of this kind which goes far beyond my petty beginnings, and which thus far confirms my own study. Those interested should read Professor Scott's recent book "The Menace of Nationalism in Education" or await the more ambitious study now going on under the direction of Professor Merriam of the University of Chicago.

This morning I shall rather discuss general principles referring occasionally to my study for evidence to support the argument.

No historian will deny that textbooks should teach the truth. I want to start from that general proposition, upon which we are presumably agreed, and discuss its implications—the implications of the ideal of truth in history.

My first proposition is that the ideal of truth in history implies that truth shall be the *primary* not the secondary aim in textbook writing. Perhaps historians are in 100% agreement on this point also. Perhaps we should all agree that every other aim is inconsistent with, or at least subordinate to truth. But it is easy to show that other aims are often preferred. Other primary aims are often advocated by educational authorities, assumed by publishers, demanded by influential organizations and condoned by some historians.

Frequently educators do not regard truth as the most important aim in a text book. In the Mandel Committee's report of 1920 there appeared, along with much that is commendable, insistence by the committee that "the textbook must contain no statement in derogation or in disparagement of the achievements of American heroes." This is a limitation upon truth-telling and without doubt subordinates it to hero-worship. The committee also stated among the aims of textbook writing: "To bring the light of reason to bear on radical or alien theories of economic and political systems." This may not necessarily be a limitation upon truth-telling but it indicates the propagandist's aim which always endangers truth. Finally Superintendent Ettinger in the preface to the same report declared that the textbook writer for immature minds may be properly conceded a certain discretion as to cleaving closely to the line of historical truth, which is not allowed the historian writing for adult readers. This last, I believe, to be the most pernicious doctrine of the three. It is pernicious partly because of the apparent truth it contains. Everyone recognizes that history must be *simplified* for the immature mind. No one, I believe, should acknowledge that history must be *distorted* for the immature mind. It is true, of course, that the condensation and simplification which is necessary in an elementary textbook sometimes defeats the best efforts of the writer to convey a true picture of a character or event. This is an inevitable difficulty. But it is not the difficulty which confronts us to-day. To-day we often find children receiving totally

different and opposite impressions from the teaching of history in our school books, from that which mature students receive from more careful study. Eighth grade histories may well be simpler and more brief than college texts; but the net impression they convey should be approximately the same. A graduate student should know infinitely more about the causes of a war than an eighth grader can know; but the two should not have opposing views of the significance of such an event. English children coming to America have often been amazed at the contrast in the teaching of the American Revolution. The difficulty has not been that the American account was more complex, but that it conveyed an opposite impression. It taught a different loyalty.

Loyalty we need. But loyalty which is achieved at the expense of truth has the most fragile foundation which later knowledge may sweep away leaving our faith in ideals ruined beyond repair.

Moreover absolute truth as an ideal is the only goal which does not leave the door open to the propagandist. Failure to insist upon it, has already resulted in a disgraceful scramble for the control of textbooks which Professor Pierce has so well portrayed to us.

Not only do educators compromise truth. Publishers naturally take the cue and advertize the merits of their texts in terms of other goals. Thus I hold in my hand an advertisement of Guitteau's textbook. The publishers list five tests of merit in textbook writing, but accuracy is not among them. It is true that they stress certain other commendable features. They declare that this text features social and economic life rather than wars. Parenthetically we may note that a recent study of textbooks from this point of view belies this statement, Guitteau's book being listed well below the average in this respect. The publishers add that war when treated is treated "vividly". It certainly is. The test which they feature is that of loyalty, and the other three tests are technical; no mention of accuracy.

But educational authorities and publishers are only following the lead of many influential organizations, when they minimize the importance of truth. Thus Mr. Adams, President-General of the Sons of the American Revolution in a recent article first declares for truth in history books "regardless of whom they may

offend." But he goes on to say that our school histories should certainly not malign the characters of our military leaders and statesmen of any period." And he would have all teachers of history pledge themselves as follows; "The ends I aim at shall be my country's, my God's and truth's." Note the order.

Finally I think it must be admitted that a certain amount of distortion of truth is sometimes condoned by some historians. This is shown not merely in the textbooks some of them write, but in their defense when under attack. Thus when even such a liberal as Professor West was attacked in the Hirschfeld investigation, he is reported to have replied: "I challenge Hirschfeld to find a single disloyal assertion in my book." The defense is to be justified or condemned according to the definition of the word "disloyal". But to the popular mind such a statement sounds like an admission that loyalty is a higher ideal than truth. The attacks upon, and occasionally the defenses of textbooks too rarely raise the question of accuracy as the primary ideal.

The actual content of many textbooks shows the results of the above situation. If time permitted I would quote to you from French, German and American textbooks to show the wide discrepancies not only between the French and German accounts, but also between the liberal and non-liberal books. Imagine then that I have shown that French children are taught that Germany was solely responsible for the war, and that German children are taught that Allied countries were responsible; that French children read how Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium and German children read how English and Belgians plotted to do so; that each camp accuses the other of vile atrocities; that French books treat the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine as an act of historical justice; and German quote figures on the alleged proportions of French and Germans resident there; how French children are taught that the treaty is just and in accord with agreements made, while German children are taught that it was a gross breach of Allied promises; and how French children are encouraged to think of Germans as beasts who will always menace France; while German children are taught to look forward to a modification of an impossible peace treaty.

Similarly American texts differ widely among themselves. One group comprising say 25 out of 35 books examined treats the war as

the product of a German plot; another made up of not more than three books treats it as a complex event not yet completely understood for which many nations were jointly responsible. The contrasts between these books when they speak of the treaty of peace are almost as wide as those between the French and German texts. Whichever type of book is preferable it will make a great difference for the future which type is adopted in our schools. Among the most liberal and objective I need not add is the excellent text by Professor Moon.

So much for my first and longest argument, that truth as an ideal implies that it be the primary ideal, and for my evidence that such is not always the case to-day. My other propositions will not take us so long. My second is that truth in textbooks implies that war be treated for what it is—a complex product of many changing conditions among which political leadership is but one. Actually the treatment of the war in many of our own textbooks is startlingly superficial. About a dozen of the thirty-five texts I have examined make no attempt to discuss the European background of the war. For them its only importance was its effect upon American citizens. "There was a war going on in Europe," they say in effect. "Germany hurt some Americans so we got into it."

Moreover the treatment is often not only superficial, it is most dogmatic. How can Elson be satisfied to condense the most complex event of history into the statement "that the war was made in Germany is not a matter of dispute; it is a fact." Contrast with this statement that of Long: "Germany appears guilty, but her plot was not peculiar to her. Other nations had had plots of conquest. The real evil was the European system. It is impossible yet, accurately to apportion blame for the war." etc.

By personifying nations and picturing them as acting always rationally and deliberately, textbook writers over-simplify the story. Whereas we know that the causation of war is not like a rifle-shot which goes singly to its mark, and is at least the immediate cause of the breaking of the target. Is it not rather like the formation of shifting pattern in a kalcidoscope? We can only know what pattern the next turn will bring if we know the nature of each piece of glass and all the forces impinging upon it. A

single individual can no more be held responsible for a world war, than can the exact pattern of the kaleidoscope be attributed solely to the will of the child who turns it. War is complex.

My third proposition is that truth in history implies not merely that no false statements be included, but also that *statements be representative*. I do not literally lie when I say that people in the village where I live commit crimes and show disregard for law and order. We had a couple arrested the other day. But I do lie in that I misrepresent a characteristically peaceful community. Perhaps German historians did not literally lie when they wrote that Americans fought the war for material ends. I fear a few Americans did. But the statement was a misrepresentation of the war-aims of the people of this country. Similarly atrocity stories are not all unfounded in facts. But the impression conveyed that every enemy soldier and never an allied soldier was a blood-thirsty demon is false and it is the more dangerous because being founded on fact it is the more difficult to refute. Textbooks contain many such unrepresentative truths which are the most dangerous of lies.

My fourth proposition is that the ideal of truth in history implies that textbooks treat controversial questions as *controversial*. This need is illustrated in scores of textbooks. Dogmatic statement is decidedly the rule; doubt the rare exception. I know of no better example of such rare cautious statement than the following from Professor Moon's text: Speaking of war responsibility he says: "Later on the evidence showed that the Austrian Government with German consent deliberately planned to crush Serbia; but it still remains doubtful whether they desired to start a war among the Great Powers. It was also shown that some of the Russian military leaders did their best to bring about the war. The whole truth is not yet known, and probably will not be known for many years to come." But remember that this and two other texts are almost the only examples of such caution. The typical text leaves no doubts in the minds of pupils. I sometimes think that one of the world's greatest needs is far more "intelligent ignorance". By intelligent ignorance I mean a cautious open-minded attitude willing to admit that after examination of available evidence much remains uncertain. When facts are uncertain it is natural that their presen-

tation shall differ in different countries. But a frank recognition of doubt gives the basis for cooperation and tends to dispel hatred.

My fifth proposition is that truth in textbooks implies that *no important facts be left out of the discussion*. The best example of such omission is perhaps the failure of American texts to discuss adequately the Fourteen Point agreement and to compare it with the Treaty of Versailles. Of 35 books examined thirteen do not mention this agreement; 12 others mention it but do not compare it with the treaty; three others mention the Fourteen Points but do not even list them. Two speak of the agreement and hold that the Treaty was in accordance with it. A single book admits the Treaty was a compromise, while only one or two show a failure to keep the agreement. As would be expected this is in marked contrast with the long treaty discussions in German texts.

Finally it would seem that truth in history teaching would imply that so far as possible the *causes* of enemy points of view and of enemy acts be explained. If our enemies in the past have injured us, we need to understand why they did so. Their acts can be partially explained in terms of the historical, economic, psychological, geographical and social situations surrounding them. If men plan evil acts we need to understand why they plan them. And more the we understand the more we tend to redirect our hatred from doors of bad deeds to the objective conditions which determined those deeds. Grammar-school children cannot be taught all the intricacies of social causation, but the more they can be led to understand evil conditions rather than to hate "evil" nations, the more truthful will be our history and incidentally the greater will be the hope of world peace.

To summarize we may say that the ideal of absolute truth is too often forgotten by writers, publishers, educators, and influential organizations and that therefore textbooks are full of contradictions. Most startling contrasts appear between the teachings in different countries; while, within our own country, the majority of texts are in marked contrast with a few of the more liberal. We may add that the ideal of truth in history implies that it be given primary place; that war be treated as a complex product for which no single group can be held entirely responsible; that it is as important that textbook statements be representative as that they be true; that controversial questions must be treated as con-

troversial and not dogmatically; that all important facts be given their proper place; and that our texts, so far as possible, should give insight into the life and point of view of other nations, and when possible explain the conditions which have produced their hostility to us. All this the truth demands.

The problem is a difficult one. It seems to be a matter of a vicious circle with public opinion (or better popular feeling) as its starting point. Textbook writers will write the books that publishers will accept; publishers will accept the books that school boards will adopt; school boards will adopt the books that organized public opinion will demand; but public opinion is in part determined by the content of the texts themselves. To break this vicious circle is a task for the historian. Like most such questions it is immediately a matter of leadership and discussion. Leadership must come from such group as this.

It would be unfair to close without a word of optimism. Some better books are appearing among which Professor Moon's is a striking example. Various organizations are becoming interested and are influencing public opinion to demand higher ideals in education. In France, Professor Scott notes a growing demand that the work of the League be taught in the schools, and a more radical movement among teachers' syndicates. The problem is receiving international attention through the work of the World Federation of Educational Associations and the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. Despite the insistent demands of propagandists for causes good, bad and indifferent, a sane demand for truthful history is perhaps growing.

DONALD R. TAFT.

FACTS AND NORDIC DOCTRINE

There are two common forms of race mysticism, the first of which holds that a particular race, usually the race of one's own country, is distinctly superior, the other, that all the races of men are equal. The truth here, as in so many controversial social problems, lies somewhere between extremes. It is obvious that races are different in physical characteristics. That they are different in mental characteristics also is reasonably certain. But these latter differences are much less than is popularly supposed, and not nearly so great as the racial myths assume.

The Nordic doctrine is now the most popular of racial myths in America, England and Germany. In order to understand its implications one must understand its origin and development. Its background is Aryanism, originated, though not named, in 1788 by Sir Humphrey Jones who discovered certain similarities between Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Germanic, and Celtic languages. In 1808 the idea was carried further by Frederick Schlegel who asserted the apparently erroneous doctrine that Sanskrit was the mother of all European tongues. In 1820 the homeland of the Aryans was placed in Central Asia. The Germans took the lead in philological study, and by 1840 Aryanism was well established in Germany and other countries. The Indo-Europeans were supposed to have originated on the slopes of the Himalayas and emigrated westward. For sixty years the theory of their Asiatic origin was generally accepted throughout Europe.

In 1854 appeared Count Gobineau's essay on "The Inequality of Human Races." This immediately made him one of the leading figures in the racial controversy. He still remains one of the most interesting and probably the most often misrepresented of the racial mystics, primarily because his writings are full of contradictions. For example, it was one of his favorite doctrines that civilizations are based on the purity of races. Yet he also held that every civilization is based on the crossing of races. As cross fertilization of cultures produces civilization, so cross fertilization of races produces new qualities which are often superior to the old. He used the Greeks to illustrate, explaining their artistic ability by the supposed proper admixture of Negroid blood. But he maintained that such admixture of elements, carried too far, meant

the decline of civilization. Thus he held to the doctrine of race-mixture as a necessary condition of a highly diversified culture, while holding that purity of race was essential to the maintenance of civilization.

A little later certain features of Aryanist tradition were put into classical form by Max Müller. He originated the term Aryan to replace the cumbersome terms Indo-European and Indo-German. He pictured the original Aryans as not merely one tribe, but even as one family living under a single roof on the slopes of the Hindu Kush Mountains. From this unitary and homogeneous origin he declared sprang all the languages of the Indo-European group. Twenty-five years later he repudiated this theory because of accumulated evidence that race and language are not historically identifiable. The theory, however, that all branches of the Aryan family of languages must have been originated by peoples who at one time lived in the same area and were related in blood still has its supporters. But when we observe how various branches of the Romance languages, all much more closely related to each other than the Indo-European tongues, are spoken by such diverse populations as Italians, Spaniards, French, Belgians and Rumanians, we realize that the Greek, Latin, Celtic (P and Q), Germanic, Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Slavic, and other Indo-European tongues must have had, through the many thousands of years of their evolution and diffusion, highly diversified racial associations.

About 1866 the idea of a European origin for the Aryans began to prevail. The Belgian and English scholars took the lead, but the Germans followed closely. In the '70's the Germans developed the idea of the Baltic Sea region as the original home of the Aryans. Since then the search for the Aryan homeland has extended from Siberia to the slopes of the Himalayas, from Persia to the plains of Russia and Hungary, from the North Sea eastward to central Asia. The interesting point is the way in which this search is carried on. For example, a philologist takes the original root for the word "lion", and finds out the distribution of lions in prehistoric times. He next discovers that "birch tree" comes from a Sanskrit root. By comparing the distribution of lions and birch trees and finding a common region where both were found, he believes he has located the Aryan homeland. This method resembles a Chinese puzzle with eighty-five percent of the parts

missing; with the fifteen percent remaining one can prove almost any theory.

A merry controversy has, therefore, raged about the insoluble question of who were the original Aryans and where did they come from. Numerous French authors have been sure that the Celts, whom they picture as medium to dark-complexioned round heads, were the original Aryans. The Germans, of course, object to the theory that the inferior Alpine stock was the Aryan parent race and are equally certain that only tall, long-headed blonds could have played the Aryan rôle in history. A Princeton professor has recently repeated the old, out-worn and always inconclusive philological argument. (H. H. Bender, *The Home of the Indo-Europeans*, Princeton, 1922.) In certain recent books such as Peake's *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World* and Childe's, *The Aryans*, just off the press, the authors posit an original Aryan race and an original Aryan cradleland, proving that the doctrine is not dead. The inadequacy of proof, however, is shown by the contrast between Childe's ideas and the latest German theory. One way of tracing racial movements is by archeological study. By tracing the remains of certain types of pottery Childe concludes that the movements of races and culture across Europe in the long pre-historic era were from east to west. Using pottery and weapons, the Germans trace these same movements from west to east. Between such contradictory conclusions one can take one's choice and probably be equally near the truth. Man has been in western Europe at least 250,000 years and possibly 500,000 years. In that time he has been continually moving, and not always in one direction. His movements have been so various that the exact tracing of migrations is now impossible.

Of the favorite doctrines of racial mystics one of the most important is the theory of "pure" races. That theory is a fundamental doctrine of the Nordicists who claim that civilization is the product of one race, the Nordic, and that that race must keep itself pure, otherwise civilization will perish. It will be seen that this is a recent form of the original Gobineau doctrine concerning which that author fell into confusing contradictions.

The truth is that the continent of Europe has been peopled for many thousands of years, and during that long period the races

have been mixing. In Europe to-day there is no pure race. Ripley once wrote to Ammon to learn the characteristics of a typical Alpine, but Ammon replied that he had never found one. All the scores of thousands of individuals he had measured were hybrids. If the shape of the head came up to standard, then the stature or coloring was wrong; if the coloring and stature were right the individual was longheaded. According to Madison Grant, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are purely Nordic, while the Anglo-Saxons are the very aristocracy of the Nordics. Yet among the Anglo-Saxons the proportion of brunets is large, short statures are common, and mixed types are the rule. Dixon finds from an examination of skulls that in prehistoric Scandinavia only two-thirds of the people were dolichocephalic. Retzius and First found that among 45,000 recruits for the Swedish army only 10.7% combined the head form, stature, and complexion of the Nordic, although two-thirds had light eyes and three-fourths had light hair. Statistical investigation brings out a very wide range of local variation in all these characteristics. There are sections in Scandinavia, especially in Norway, where the brunet type is predominant.

According to a recent American investigator, Professor Brigham, (*American Intelligence*, 1924) the English are eighty per cent Nordic, and twenty per cent Mediterranean, the Scots eighty-five per cent Nordic and fifteen per cent Mediterranean, and the Irish thirty per cent Nordic and seventy per cent Mediterranean. These obviously biased or ignorant guesses prove one thing, Professor Brigham does not like the Irish. This is only one example of fact distortion under the influence of race patriotism. The American Nordics have a similar dislike for the Jews. Then there is the myth of the blondness of Jesus. The idea of an affinity between Jesus and the blond Teuton was first promulgated by the Wagnerian circle which later formed the basis of the Gobineau Vereinigung, the chief agency for Nordic propaganda in pre-war Germany. Wagner was a mystic who believed that civilization had reached its evening twilight, *le crepuscule des dieux*. The Wagnerian society felt that since the spiritual side of Jesus was so akin to the secret recesses of the German heart, it must prove the anthropological fact that He was a Nordic. They also proved to their satisfaction that David was a blond as his mother

was an Amorite and there were blonds among the Amorites, a notion reiterated by Madison Grant.

But let us return to the racial purity of Anglo-Saxon England. Nowhere in the British Isles, according to Parsons, is the combination of dark hair and dark eyes less than twenty-five per cent of the total, while that of light hair and light eyes seldom equals twenty per cent. Light eyes are commoner than light hair. In Scotland, Gray studied 501,000 school children and found that twenty-six per cent had fair hair, twenty-six per cent dark, five per cent red, and the rest were medium. Of the eyes fifteen per cent were blue, twenty-two per cent dark, and the rest medium. Statistics prove that the British population is about fifty-fifty, halfblond—half burnet. There is no ground for the assumption that England is overwhelmingly Nordic. A salt and pepper mixture seems the best description. This conclusion is borne out by an interesting fact. It is an obvious anthropological fact that within a race the cephalic index is uniform. If, now, one study this index by the averages for whole counties in the British Isles, he finds that it averages seventy-seven to seventy-nine in every case. But if the counties are divided into sections the average indexes for small areas range from sixty-eight to eighty-six, showing the extremes of all Europe. According to this index these islands include samples of all the European races.

A humorous sidelight on the attitude of the English and the Irish toward each other is shown by Grant's assertion: "A homogeneous Nordic people like the English is characterized by steadiness and stability in contrast to the Irish." Sir Arthur Keith, however, who is one of the great authorities on British physical anthropology, holds that "The Irish are more homogeneous than the people of the other parts of the British Isles and are the most purely Nordic."

The doctrine of race purity has been made the basis of repeated assertions that the original American stock were racially pure. Grant holds them to be not only pure Nordics but to be pure Anglo-Saxons, who may be looked upon as the veritable aristocracy of the aristocrats among races. Professor Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution recently completed a study of this old American stock. He found that among them three per cent were pure blonds, while 6.5 per cent were pure brunets; or twenty-two

per cent were fair, twenty-eight per cent apparent brunetes and fifty per cent intermediate or mixed types. Galton studied Cromwell's Ironsides, so often cited as the finest type of Englishmen, and found that they were so brunet that the Londoners looked on them as a special breed of men. Either those Anglo-Saxons who settled America were much mixed racially, or the Anglo-Saxons are not a race. If time permitted, one could give arguments showing that anthropologically mixed races are superior to pure races. In pure races superiority along one line is offset by inferiority along other lines. Races like individuals have the weaknesses which inevitably accompany their strengths, just as race horses make poor draft animals, and *vice versa*. In so far as races are different a mixture offers the possibility for a combination in one individual of the superior qualities of each race. This is in line with one of Gobineau's theories. He used it to account for the superiority of the Greek race; their intellectual genius he thought was due to the white race, their artistic ability to the colored.

The theory of special racial aptitudes is usually emphasized by the Nordicists. According to them the Nordics are peculiarly endowed with initiative, energy, intelligence, administrative ability, and civilizing capacity, while the Alpines are a slavish, peasant population. It is easy in this way to exaggerate the differences between races, but there is some truth in the assumption that they are different. The contrast between the views of Grant and Dixon in regard to the Ancient Greeks, however, illustrates the dangers of exaggeration. Madison Grant held that Sparta was the stronghold of the Nordics. The militarism, strenuousness, discipline and order of Sparta all were to be attributed to their Nordic racial heritage. The Athenians must have been Mediterranean because they were unreliable, full of conspiracies, always plotting against each other, surely convincing proof that there was not enough Nordic blood in them. Professor Dixon of Harvard, however, has examined the skulls from ancient Sparta, and proved that the Spartans were round-headed. Therefore their militarism, strenuousness, discipline and order must have been due to their Alpine blood. In Athens he found there was a larger proportion of blond stock. Having once decided what one wants to prove, it is easy with such arguments to prove the point

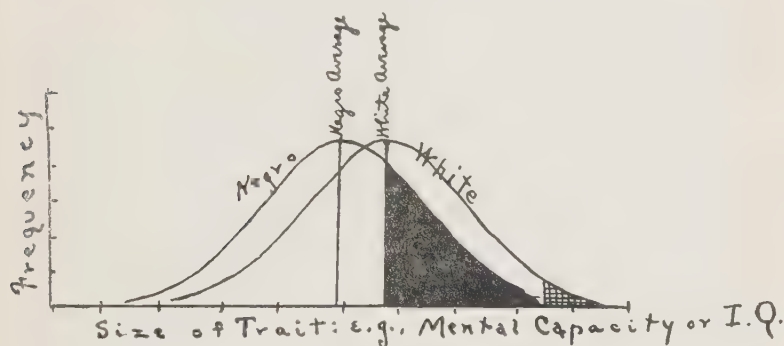
either way. The fallacy of that procedure is similarly illustrated by the explanations current in English speaking countries as a result of the war. The Nordacists, hard put to explain the "inherent brutality" of the admittedly Nordic Germans, developed the theory that in recent times the Nordic stock in Germany has been diminishing and the Alpine increasing. Thus the one-time peace-loving, peasant-like, slavish Alpines suddenly become endowed with an inherent brutality and a spirit of forceful domination.

The doctrine that the Nordics have special initiative seems to have some basis in fact. The Nordic races are clearly endowed with physical vigor and hardihood. There is still, however, a question whether they were responsible for most explorations, as has been claimed. MacDougall believes that they were. But he also says that the Nordics are inherently introvert; they are moody, easily depressed, prone to commit suicide. Miss Beatrice Hinkle, a much greater psychoanalytic authority, however, says that of all peoples the English are the most extrovert; they are explorers, pioneers, ready to face dangers anywhere. She maintains that the Germans are most highly introvert. Yet good Nordacists assert that both English and Germans are among our purest examples of Nordic races. The truth is that both peoples are extremely mixed, among both the racial elements and dominant characteristics have varied widely from time to time and from one individual to another, and in both races as in each individual introversion and extroversion may be illustrated.

We thus see that Nordic doctrines represent a varying re-expression of earlier Aryanist theories. They are a curious mixture of pure mythology, pseudo-fact, dogmatic biology, wishful thinking and concrete observation. When great historical movements, the rise and fall of civilizations, are thus explained we have a peculiarly dangerous form of error because of the tremendous explosive power of race feeling. It is peoples rather than races that have moved across the pages of history. And yet peoples are composed of races. We may, therefore, ask whether races are equal and, if not, how their differences should be conceived.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that all races are human and that, therefore, the differences of races are those of degree and not of kind. For example, all races have stature, but Nordics

are taller than Mediterraneans. Such differences are consonant with a great deal of overlapping, so that most statures of one race will be offset by similar statures of the other. Nevertheless, there will be a greater frequency of short statures among Mediterraneans and of tall statures among Nordies. The same considerations apply to other races whether one consider physical, mental or character traits. Thus, in the light of recent research we may say that negroes are less well endowed with powers of abstract thought than native white Americans. Nevertheless, many negroes exceed the average American.



To represent statistically the characteristics of a race we may indicate on the baseline the intensity of the trait measured, and on the vertical ordinate the frequency of that trait. For example, if there is a real difference in native ability between the negro and the white, as is generally believed, the curves might appear as in the accompanying diagram. The average intelligence of the negro in abstract thinking appears to be between seventy-five per cent and ninety per cent that of the white. By drawing the distribution curves and the medians for each group some interesting facts appear. The shaded portion represents a large group of negroes who are superior to the average white. The large area common to both curves shows that the majority in one group is duplicated in the other. It is in the smaller and larger values of a trait that differences are important. There are large numbers of inferior individuals in each group, but the superior race produces a much larger number of the talented group. The cross-hatched

area, for example, represents a small group of highly gifted whites who are all superior in the trait represented to any individual of pure negro stock. This is a highly important fact as regards the relation of race to culture because culture is essentially a product of the talented members of a population. The moral remains, however, that sweeping statements about races cannot be applied to individuals.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Association:

Though I have a chronic aversion to speeches, I found the two papers which have just been read extraordinarily edifying. *Professor Hankins*, it seems to me, has effectively exorcised the lingering ghost of the Aryan myth which, when I imbibed my first elementary notions of European history, was still enjoying a hoary but hearty old age. And he has rendered the more important service of putting to rout the young and blatant Nordicism which still stalks through many a classroom, when it is not busy at Washington presiding over the enactment of racial quota immigration laws.

Once we can rid our schools of the idea that nations are races, and races homogeneous, and our own race superior, we shall have made an incalculably important stride out of the land of fable into the land of truth.

The first time I went to Europe, I was inclined to deny nationalist traits and differences. Had I not seen Frenchmen with truly Teutonic stolidity, consuming a beverage that I had always believed to be typically German? Since then, I have come to recognize the obvious fact—which only theories had prevented me from observing before—that with all their fundamental human kinship, Italy is not France, nor is France England. In each country there are different influences at work—the city of the Colisseum cannot be the city of the boulevards. Sometimes I wonder if historians do as much as they could in attempting to show how upon the monochromatic warp of a common humanity culture has woven a wool of many-colored strands.

In any discussion of the deviations of history text-books from the strict standards of truth, it is proper to remind ourselves that the fault does not lie wholly or even mainly at the door of the publishers are receiving more than their fair share of blame, these days. From my own experience I can gladly testify that I have never been subjected to any pressure on the part of the publisher, to falsify the facts of history. On the other hand, all who have tried to write textbooks realize there are difficulties inherent in the author and in the task—difficulties which may perhaps be suggested in four words—courage, cowardice, compression, conventionality.

To illustrate the first, permit me to refer to a new textbook, on American history, sponsored by the American legion and endorsed by numerous other organizations. It was written by a professor of English. It requires courage for a professor of English to write history textbooks.

The courageous author, I honestly believe, approached his task with a genuine and admirable determination to be fair and impartial. Not his intentions, but his courage, must be held responsible for the result. I have not read the whole book yet. Perhaps it is unfair to take only a few samples. I have looked only at a few passages bearing on international relations, and these are as fascinating as fiction. Take for example, this description of Perry's mission to Japan on p. 202.

"Perry, a younger brother of Lieutenant Perry of Lake Erie's battle, succeeded in his mission by tact, courtesy and insistence. After more than a year of effort he secured an interview with the Japanese emperor, who had been shut apart as a demigod."

When the dull historian objects that Perry did not stay in Japan a year, and did not secure an interview with the emperor, it is spoiling a good story. But the historian might add the picturesque detail that Perry displayed not only tact, courtesy, and insistence, but also a squadron of warships.

Again, read this.

"Our protection of the smaller Latin (!) nations to the south of us had been steadily extending without direct effort. The Republic of San Domingo so prospered under the control we had established there in 1905, that the other half of the island, the black republic of Haiti, urged

us to take her also under our management. Haiti wanted us to stop the bloodshed with which her chiefs were desolating her. A hundred and sixty of her leaders were slain by a rival in a single execution. The executioner was then killed in his turn. Our marines landed and restored order (1915); and the next year Congress voted to assume the desired protectorate over Haiti." (pp. 410-411).

I do not read this as an example of the falsification of facts. It is simply an example of what one can achieve by writing history in ignorance of the facts. No one could write this who had consulted the official documents published by our Department of State in *Foreign Relations* for 1914 and 1915. On p. 347 of the volume for 1914 is printed the draft treaty which Secretary Bryan on July 2, 1914 sent down to our minister, Mr. Blanchard, to be urged upon Haiti. When a Haitian foreign minister dared negotiate about the proposed treaty, the Haitian Senate—so our official documents show—denounced him for trying to sell his country, and attempted to use violence upon him. The Haitian government in September 1914 informed us it would be impossible to get such a treaty approved in Haiti. That was before we landed marines. After the occupation, a new Haitian government supported by the marines signed a treaty, but even then ratification by the Haitian Senate was so difficult that our Department of State sent down message after message, peremptory and urgent in tone, insisting on immediate ratification. That anyone who had read these official documents could say Haiti "urged us to take her also under our management" is simple inconceivable. The textbook writer gave us fiction for lack of facts. With innocent fiction I have no quarrel—I enjoy it. But such fiction as this is misleading; it is pernicious because it creates false ideas about one of the important problems with which our nation has to deal. And since we have to deal with the facts, it is better to know them.

Of cowardice on the part of authors I shall not venture to give specific examples. It is perhaps enough to say that it is not easy to be altogether fearless in stating the truth when you realize that it may bring denunciation upon your head and upon your book. Yet in all truth I should add that in a few cases if you will forgive my quoting a personal experience at least I have found that fear exaggerates these perils. When we were writing our *Modern*

History, Professor Hayes and I left that refusing to omit or alter what we knew to be the truth, on certain matters, we were risking everything; we had a glowing sensation of intrepidity; but after the book was published these particular items never caused the least trouble.

It may be a heterodox opinion, but it is my firm conviction that the greatest enemy of truth in textbooks is concision, compression. When an author attempts to describe the causes of the Great War in a single sentence, he can tell so little of the truth that he may in effect pervert the truth. Take this, for example, from the text I quoted before:

"Austria and Germany attacked little Serbia and helpless Belgium; and the invaded lands were promptly supported by Russia and France, and then by Britain and other Powers."

Brevity may be the soul of wit, but brevity such as this may be the mother of lies. If you tell the fact that a boatload of our sailors were arrested in a Mexican port in April, 1914, and follow that with the statement that we then seized the Mexican port of Vera Cruz, you are implying an untruth by telling part of the truth. If you are going to mention that incident at all, you must include the fact that the "boatload of sailors" was released within an hour, with immediate apologies by Mexican officers, and you must explain that Mexico was willing to fire a salute to our flag by way of reparation for the affront, and we were willing to return the salute, but rather than sign a protocol promising to return the salute we occupied Vera Cruz. And probably even that is insufficient, unless you give the underlying reason for our action. Here is the hardest problem, I believe, that the textbook writer has to face. If he is conscientious, he sweats blood trying to make his brevity an honest brevity, trying to give in few words the crucial elements of a situation, without any serious distortion.

Finally, conventionality. We know that we are all conventional, that a part of our minds is constantly frozen—congealed by habits of thought which we take for granted. Only a small part of the human mind is actively assimilating new ideas, new knowledge. But this inherent weakness of ours is aggravated by an artificial conventionality. Our history courses, like all other courses, tend

to become standardized. Certain facts get fixed in the textbooks and syllabi, and—above all—in the examinations which textbooks must prepare students to meet.

You have all heard of the author who omitted Queen Victoria but tucked the lady neatly into a footnote because she might be mentioned in an examination. I could confess a few such after-thoughts myself. But the serious aspect of the problem is this. Historical research is continually bringing new facts to light, or increasing the significance of this theme and decreasing the importance of another. Is the textbook writer to disregard this new material? If he have the courage of his calling, he will weigh the new against the old, and try to select the most important elements of each. If then, he finds it necessary to omit some venerable name or battle or date, or to compress into a few pages some bristling chapter of conventional details, what are the teachers going to do about it? Will they work with him, shoulder to shoulder, for the advancement of knowledge, or will they cling to conventional outlines and outworn requirements. My belief is that there are a good many teachers who are on the march, eager to be in the vanguard even ahead of the text-compilers—and that is one of the most encouraging sign of the times. I wish I were optimist enough to believe that all the teachers in the country were as closely in touch with research and progressive scholarship as you are.

The problem of progress in teaching is—as Professor Taft has so well said—the problem of breaking through a vicious circle. Public opinion—propagandist organizations—school boards—textbooks—public opinion. It is the joint responsibility of the high-school teacher and the textbook writer to break the circle. I believe that the only way to break it is to insist that history must be truthful—as truthful as it can be. With all humility we admit that we do not and cannot know the ultimate truth, in all its fulness, regarding man's long career on earth. But in falling short of perfect and complete knowledge, history is not unique among sciences, social or natural. And with all our humility, we have the right to face the schoolboard, the public, the publisher, the world, with the proud boast that there is some truth, there are some established facts, in history, as there are in chemistry or in biology or in medicine. We should make the public realize that history is

not propaganda, patriotic or otherwise; that it is not the telling of edifying fables to the young; that it is the earnest and vitally important task of giving mankind authentic data which can be used in trying to understand and improve human society. Once we make that clear, it ought to become obvious also that to falsify the data on which human society has to rely for such vital concerns as government and social institutions is quite as absurd as, and even more dangerous than, to falsify the data on which the maker of an engine or the architect of a skyscraper depends. The engine may collapse, the building may fall, if it is built on falsehood; but the fall of a nation or the ruin of a civilization is a more terrific penalty of self-deception. In an age of propaganda and of well-intentioned efforts to train the young in the way of good citizenship, we need above all things to remember that facts are facts, even in history.

PARKER T. MOON

BUFFALO MEETING

November 27, 1926

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, FOSTER HALL

Saturday Morning, November 27, 10 o'clock.

ADDRESS—"Observations at Geneva, 1926." Dean Julian Park, University of Buffalo.

TOPIC FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION -"History Placement Tests", Professor Ben D. Wood, Columbia University.

Discussion led by Professor Edward S. Jones, University of Buffalo and Mr. Ralph W. Penniman, Masten Park High School, Buffalo.

Saturday Afternoon, November 27, 1 o'clock, Niagara Hotel, Niagara Falls.

ADDRESS—"The Problem of History and the Other Social Studies in the Schools", Professor A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota.

INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION OF THE NATIONS

So many people, perhaps some of you, have been to Geneva and examined the League and its direct and indirect agencies at work that general descriptions of it would seem to be superfluous. When I first went to Geneva I naturally spent a considerable time in the secretariat meeting officials, studying documents, and using the extraordinary library. This last summer I hardly entered the building. That illustrates the value of atmosphere. You can grasp the League idea at home, and you can learn its general theory from books and pamphlets*, but the machinery which translates this theory into practice you can only understand by seeing it work, and the personalities in charge of this machinery you can only appreciate by meeting face to face. Incidentally, they are extraordinarily accessible.

I wish I could describe for you the totally inadequate hall, the Salle de la Reformation, in which the meetings of the seven great assemblies have been held, and I wish I could describe the most dramatic event which that hall has ever witnessed or is likely ever to witness—the entrance of Germany, reviving the spirit of Locarno for which we were all so fearsome last spring and summer. I need not quote the addresses of Stresemann and Briand. I shall try to stress rather the personal note. The former read his carefully prepared speech in German, which a great many of the auditors did not understand. He is not magnetic, a fact that you would guess from his photographs; but his difficulties were enormous, and it is amazingly to his credit that he fell into none of the pitfalls which were so easy for him to trip into. Briand prepared nothing. I heard afterwards that the French delegation were in despair the day before, for he refused to worry in the slightest about his part in the proceedings. He had no need to. The curious thing is that the dramatic quality of his speech affected even the official stenographer. There is no agreement as to what he actually did say at the conclusion. The English translation is almost futile as a rendering of the effect; the words are as cold stones. I can only say that if I were to read it in

*E. g.—P. J. Noel Baker, "The League of Nations at Work"; H. Wilson Harris, "What the League of Nations is"; Maurice Fanshawe, "Reconstruction: Five Years of Work by the League of Nations" (a little more inclusive)

French before you with a fraction of the emotion he displayed, even if you understand no word of rapid spoken French, you would almost unerringly get every nuance of the thought, so wonderful were his gestures, and intonations. Here you have him turning directly toward the German delegation as if no one else in the hall mattered:

"Peace, gentlemen! Peace for Germany, and for France! That means that the end has come to the grievous tale of bloody combats with which all the pages of history are stained. It is the end of the long veils of mourning, for sufferings that can never be appeased. The war is over between us. No more war! No more brutal and bloody solutions for our disputes. Henceforth, it is the judge who shall declare the law . . . Put behind us rifles, machine guns, and canon. Make away for conciliation, arbitration, peace! . . . Our peoples, gentlemen of the German delegation, have no more demonstrations to make, on the side of strength, on the side of heroism. In the battles of the past both have reaped an ample harvest of glory. For the future they may seek other achievements, in other fields."

And the marvelous, deep voice deepened and sank into almost a whisper—"C'est fini."

Rarely has any Parliament listened to such a miraculous improvisation; never surely has a gathering of diplomats, been put through such an emotional strain. Carried beyond himself, hoarse with emotion, and almost weeping, the Canadian delegate, Sir George Foster, leapt to his feet and strangely tried to set an international audience cheering in the British manner.

Of course you discount such talk when you think it over, and when you remember that back in the distance hovers the uncompromising figure of Poincarè to cast a wet blanket over all such emotionalism. Yet the dramatics of M. Briand were nearer the truth than the carping of the critics, for they were followed by the interview of Thoiry. Stresemann, by the way, is regarded in Geneva as a real statesman. He has made no false step, exhibited none of the tactlessness which we have often associated with the words, "German statesman."

I have no time, nor is it necessary, to speak of the sequel of all that—the price for Germany's entry, in the loss of Spain and Brazil. The wish may be simply father to the thought, but it

does seem clear that both these countries need the League more than the League needs them, although the League is the poorer for the loss of some interesting personalities. The Spanish representative on the Council, Quinones de Leon, is said by all to be a man of extraordinary ability. The Brazilian Mello Franco was also popular and was lost with unmixed regret. The leading Spanish or Spanish-American place is apparently taken by the representative of almost the smallest republic of all in population—Salvador. The chief reason for Salvador's election to the Council was that the Council wanted Senor Guerrero. What a stupendous and humiliating thing for one man to feel that he is wanted by the representatives of all the other 54 nations in the great society of nations.

I have only time to speak of one particular phase of the League unless I am to lose myself in meaningless generalities; and that is the intellectual. And when I speak of the League in this connection I mean the Geneva atmosphere,—they are inseparable. Geneva is of course the Mecca for international conferences and organizations of all sorts. There is an excellent university there and there are temporary organized efforts working throughout the summer of such a nature as to appeal to every educated person whether his interest is scientific, historical, artistic, or what not. For our particular purpose, yours and mine, it is chiefly a living laboratory of politics, a unique thing, and the best laboratory in existence because it is so all-inclusive. May I digress here for a moment and make a few remarks on the study of political science? And yet it is no digression any more than it would be for a biologist to talk about his laboratory.

There is no good reason why the study of political and economic problems should not be conducted with the same scientific thoroughness and objectivity that characterizes our analysis of the facts of nature. We have the facilities if we only knew how to use them. The whole world is a gigantic workshop of political and social experimentation. Alas that the United States has so little part in it, does not continue those social and political beginnings of 1912 and 1913 and the idealism of 1917! Every theory that the human mind can devise is being given a trial somewhere. During the last ten years we have seen empires and kingdoms pass away, new republics arise overnight (which to our shame have not been modelled on ours), new constitutions appear, curious experiments

in political science begun, a league of nations born to bring peace on earth. And do we know the causes, processes, and significance of it all? Only to a slight extent. We know that there is change but are not sure that there is progress. We know that we are on the way but are not sure of where we are going. The investigator in political science, in other words, is provided with unique sorkshop, but lacks a technique of observation. We call our subject a social science. It is social surely, but are we justified in calling it a science and thinking that there are laws and principles in it as there are in physics, that are just as eternal and inexorable as the laws of nature? Just what they are and just how they function we do not know.

Nor can we know until we regard peace and cooperation as not merely political, but spiritual and intellectual. One of the most significant and important things about the League is its great committee for intellectual cooperation. I wish I had time to dwell on its functions and scope.

The Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was created by a resolution of the Second Assembly in 1921, its object being sufficiently defined in a report presented to the Assembly of the following year in which the committee was described as existing "to secure for intellectual work the place which befits it and to assist in the freer and more rapid circulation of the great intellectual currents of the world." The committee has numbered among its members such men and women as Professor Einstein, Professor Gilbert Murray, Professor Bergson, Mme. Curie, and the famous American physicist Professor Milliken. Some vagueness rather naturally prevailed in the beginning regarding its precise line of work, but it has gradually developed its own program, based on the principle that in the field of intellectual pursuits, at all events, no national frontiers can exist.

The committee has always been hampered by a lack of funds, for the League can only vote it a modest subvention from its budget. Individual countries were, however, encouraged to do what they could to help the committee, and accordingly two years ago France offered a building (beautiful quarters in the Palais Royal) and an annual subsidy of a million francs for maintenance; Italy an annual subsidy of a million lire, to be used particularly for the study of the unification of private law; and Poland 100,000 francs.

Paris is naturally a more appropriate center than Geneva for the centralization of international intellectual cooperation, and so that city has become the seat of the institute set up by the committee, of which a Frenchman, M. Luchaire, is director, and a gentleman well known to many of us, Professor Alfred Zimmern, formerly of Oxford, deputy-director.

Most of the opportunities and problems of international intellectual cooperation which have so far received the attention of the committee have to do with the increase and improvement of higher education and the advancement of research, although now it is turning its attention to the vital matter of inculcating League ideals of peace and fraternity among the school-children of the world through changes and additions to the textbooks used by the elementary schools. The committee cannot—nor can the League—establish new universities or research institutions. Nor is that the special need of the moment. The time may come when international universities as such may be useful. But first much can be done in the way of bringing about more active cooperative relations among the existing universities and research institutions of the various countries. Authentic and full information concerning each other's activities, better arrangements for the transfer of students from one to another, as also and especially for the temporary exchange of professors and investigators, are highly desirable. Particularly must the student and teacher of the social sciences be a peripatetic scholar. Conceivably, to return to our former metaphor, the student of physics may find in one superlatively well equipped laboratory all that he needs for his experiments, but no one laboratory, unless possibly the one at Geneva, can satisfy the ambitious and sensitive political scientist. Here is, to my mind, one of the most important functions of this committee, and it is fully alive to the tremendous opportunity, limited only by the financial conditions prevailing in Europe.

While the committee perhaps cannot by itself support research, it aids materially in developing and increasing the needed apparatus of research. Such an acutely needed thing, for example, as the centralization and standardization of the numerous and differing bibliographic enterprises can be aided, or even undertaken, by this committee. Great beginnings have already been made along this line in economics and physics.

Such international bibliographic service should provide not only author and title references, adequately classified, but also abstracts authoritatively made. Many competent workers are in institutions and places where libraries are small and the available technical journals few in number. To put into the hands of a worker so situated a mere author and title reference is simply tantalizing. The abstract may or may not be a sufficient substitute for the original paper, but at least it will make clear to the worker whether he should see the paper. What to do in the case of rare manuscripts or books or other material the whole of which must be seen and examined? A census of all the larger libraries and institutes throughout the civilized world is in course of being taken whereby all the available resources for original investigation will be made known, and in cases where the original cannot be borrowed a photographic copy can be made at lowest cost.

This is only one of the functions of the committee. I give it at some length simply to show the extraordinary scope which its work is covering. The committee itself is divided into sections—general relations, over which is an Englishman; university relations, a Pole; bibliography and scientific relations, a German; legal relations, a Spaniard; art relations, a Belgian; literary relations, a Chilean woman; section of information, an Italian. A truly international group, all the members of which gave up very important professional or academic positions to accept their appointments in a permanent institution, not a temporary affair like all the other intellectual congresses which have been set up in the past.

But this is not all. So far it is a research institution; it must have living vital contacts with the youth who are to be the political and intellectual leaders of tomorrow. These are furnished through an institution which is almost too informal and personal in its work to be called an institution, or even a school, for it simply provides the milieu for the play of personalities on each other, for the clash of one intellect on another of different type. Its name is the Geneva School of International Studies, of which Professor Zimmern is director. It seeks quality, not quantity, and so is unlike the summer schools of our American universities. It is not a money-making affair, for its tuition last summer was \$5 for a unit of two weeks. It had last summer 453 students, of

whom 280 were Americans, mostly seniors or graduate students. Last summer 29 different nationalities were represented in the enrolment.

The opening of the mind to international understanding is not a special luxury for the few. It is an indispensable concomitant of democracy. It goes with the vote. "We must educate our masters," said an English statesman at a moment when the suffrage had been widely extended but no system of general popular education yet brought into being. We are in a similar perilous interlude today. We have established an international political organization without providing the people with the means for understanding or controlling it.

That the European governments, at least those of them which are democratic and forward-looking, are alive to this situation is shown, for one thing, by the fact that they create and give scholarships to certain students in their universities to be used in this school. The government that you might, perhaps, least suspect of it, Italy, has given four scholarships, and others have done the same. I have not time to describe the methods in use at this school. It would be truer to say that there are no methods; no rules, no required attendance. The school stands four-square upon living contacts. The education provided consists of short courses of lectures, seldom less than two or more than six by one person, followed in every case by a discussion in which questions are put and views advanced by individual students. At the close of each short course a whole period, generally an evening, is devoted to its discussion. The program is bi-lingual throughout. In addition to the lecturers, who are chosen not merely for their knowledge of a general subject but also for the width of their sympathies and their skill in eliciting and handling a discussion, there is also attached to the school a small staff of younger university graduates. Their special task is to maintain the general intellectual level of the school and to meet the special needs of individual students. There are courses dealing with the culture and institutions of individual countries, others dealing with general problems of international law, economic relations, or politics; others again convey the personal experience of some recognized authority on international questions with which he has himself been concerned. Theory and practice, law and sociology,

economics and political science, sometimes even aesthetics, and above all the best of nationality together with the best of internationalism, all find their place in turn.

These experiences of the summer are vitalized and made more permanently effective by the visits during the winter among the universities of Europe and now even of America, of two or three traveling secretaries, young men of great charm and ability. The men now engaged in this phase of the work are one a Swede and one a Pole, speaking good English, who organize clubs for the discussion of international relations where there is fertile soil; but in general they are simply agents of internationalism and cooperation in informal ways.

The School during the sessions of the League Assembly has of course an opportunity which is especially and uniquely valuable. Through the magic of Professor Zimmern tickets are somehow found for all or nearly all of the students who can stay so late; and also through Mr. Zimmern's prestige, they are enabled to make the acquaintance of many of the leaders of world politics. It has been no uncommon thing for M. Briand, Sir Austen Chamberlain, or Dr. Benes to give a lecture to this group, and afterward (which is far more important) to submit to being quizzed, almost heckled.

All this is internationalism among students which is sane and constructive, under wise and efficient but loose and personal leadership. I am anxious thus to bring it to your attention because its popularity shows increasingly a preference among the leaders of American students not for credits and semester hours but for a discipline which makes young men and women, in the true sense of a much-abused phrase, men and women of the world.

JULIAN PARK

Further information regarding the 1927 work of the Geneva School of International Studies may be had from the writer of the above article, who is a member of its faculty and also of the Executive Committee. Of the latter the other members are: Owen D. Young, chairman; J. K. Newman; Charles P. Howland, Edwin F. Gay, Sam. Lewisohn, and Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont. The director is Alfred E. Zimmern; the deputy director Nicholas Spykman, associate professor at Yale, who also may be addressed for information.

No American students should be encouraged to enrol who are not of senior grade. For advanced and graduate students special facilities will be arranged.

The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Messrs Zimmern and Vernon Kellogg for some of the information in this article.

HISTORY PLACEMENT TESTS

Summary of a paper read before a meeting of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland at the University of Buffalo, November 27, 1926.

For two or three years placement tests in English, modern languages, mathematics, laboratory sciences, etc. have been in use in several colleges and universities. Two independent series of placement tests in two or three subject-matters have been made available to the general public during the last year, namely, the Iowa Placement Tests in English, French, Spanish, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Physics, and the Columbia Research Bureau tests in English, French, Spanish, German, Plane Geometry and Physics. It is hoped that both these series will be extended to include most of the basic subject matters. Tests in Algebra, Chemistry and American History will be added to the Columbia series during the coming year.

The immediate purpose of the placement test is to enable the school to start each individual student in a given subject-matter at the point at which he can use his already acquired knowledge in that subject-matter to the greatest advantage. It is a recognized principle of educational psychology that each individual student should be kept constantly challenged by the materials offered in a course of study, but that he should not be put so far beyond his depth that he will lose interest through discouragement and failure. At the present time this pedagogical principle is only too rarely realized in our classrooms. Our failure to classify students and to place them properly in the various subject-matters is partly due to organizational difficulties and to administrative complexities and traditions; but the fundamental reason for the misplacement of students in the various subject-matters is the lack of accurate and meaningful information about the capacities, defined achievements and effective interests of students. The placement tests are designed to help fill up this gap in the information about our students which we secure through existing procedures. This gap is so large that it might better be characterized by the term "chasm". It is so large that no single test, however good it may be, could possibly fill it even with respect to the student's knowledge of, and ability to think in, a single particular subject matter.

But that such tests can make a real and indispensable contribution has been proved with reference to the placement of students in several subject-matters.

In one eastern college extensive researches have shown that about 50% of the failures in elementary college English, modern languages and mathematics could be primarily accounted for by the fact that the students do not have the requisite preparation; and that another considerable fraction of the failures was most probably due to boredom on the part of students who had already learned the subject-matter and whose interest had been killed by the, to them, inane and tiresome efforts of the instructor to bring the discouraged lowest 10% of the class up to the passing mark before the end of the term.

Many incredibly extreme cases of this sort might be cited, such for example as that of a student in an eastern college who after trying the first semester of college mathematics twice and hopelessly failing both times was given the Columbia Placement Tests in Plane Geometry and Algebra. In Plane Geometry he secured a score of 18 points out of a possible 100 and in Algebra he secured a score of 8 points out of a possible 65. It was obviously absurd to expect a student who could not do the fundamental operations of Algebra or the simplest demonstrations in plane geometry to succeed in solid geometry or trigonometry, especially since he was competing with students in a college in which registration is strictly limited. It is absurd not only because of his lack of preparation but because that very lack of preparation—granting equal opportunity in the high school—implies a native or at any rate effective lack of aptitude for mathematics.

The modern language placement tests have been especially effective. Extensive surveys of the achievement of thousands of students in second, third and fourth year classes in high schools and colleges have shown¹ that, in general, about one third of the students in a given year class are, in actual achievement either above the average of the next higher class or below the average of the next lower class; and that about 60% of the students in each year class are nearer to some other class average than to their own class average. On an average between 3 and 6% of the students in the fourth-year class at the end of the fourth year have been found

¹See title 9, Bibliography at end of this article.

to be below the average of the second-year students at the end of the second year; and about an equal proportion of the second-year students are above the average of the fourth-year students. This incredible situation, which has only recently been uncovered by the Modern Foreign Language study, and research bureaus working under its auspices, is primarily due to the fact that the modern language examinations on which we have relied in the past, do not give accurate and *comparable* measurements of achievements. Consider, for example, the hopeless plight of the hopeful young man in French IV whose achievement in French is actually below the average of the French II students. It might be said that if he were a bright and hard-working student he ought to overcome his handicap. But if he had been a bright and industrious student, he would not, after satisfying the formal prerequisites of entering French IV, still be below the average, in actual achievement, of the French II class. Consider also the indescribable boredom, and the resulting habit of indifference and laziness, of the student in the French II class who is actually above the average of the French IV class but who is kept in French II because he has not fulfilled the formal time-serving requirements for admission to the more advanced class.

I have gone into some detail about placement tests in these other subject-matters because we have had more experience with placement tests in them than with placement tests in history. We do not have to depend, however, on analogical reasoning alone to see that the same situation obtains in history classes as in mathematics and modern language classes. We have given a placement test in American History to students in Columbia College for the past two years and we have found that many students at the beginning of the college course in American History know more American History than the average student knows at the end of the course, and that a few of the students know practically nothing about American History either because they have not had American History in high school or because having had such a course they did not learn the subject or forgot it after learning it. Table 1 shows the distribution of scores on the Columbia Research Bureau American History Test 1 of 162 students who took the test at the third meeting of the Columbia College course in American History in September 1926.

TABLE I.

Frequency and percentage distributions of scores on the Columbia Research Bureau Test in American History of 162 men in History 9-10 (American History) in Columbia College, September 1926.

The test was taken by these men at the third meeting of the class.

<i>Scores</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>	<i>Percents</i>	<i>Grouped Percents</i>
40- 49	1	0.6	14.2
50- 59	9	5.6	
60- 69	13	8.0	
70- 79	14	8.6	19.1
80- 89	17	10.5	
90- 99	23	14.2	33.2
100-109	31	19.0	
110-119	21	13.0	22.9
120-129	16	9.9	
130-139	8	5.0	10.6
140-149	5	3.1	
150-159	4	2.5	
	162	100.0%	

Teachers of History who are familiar with this placement test may judge for themselves whether the seventeen students who scored 130 and above can be most profitably taught in the same classroom with the 23 students who scored below 70.

For the sake of those teachers who are not familiar with the test a word may be said about the method used in its construction. In the first place the test satisfies all of the fundamental criteria of sound measuring devices more adequately than tests which have been used in the past. The scoring of the test is entirely objective so that any number of readers may read the same paper and would arrive at the same score. The test includes a wide sampling of the materials of American History and therefore of the performances of the individual taking the test. The inclusion of 200 separate

questions in each Form of a 120-minute examination is made possible by the fact that the questions are set up in such a manner that most of the irrelevant time-consuming activities of the old-type examinations are eliminated. The recording of the responses of the student is very simple, requiring only the writing of plus-signs or zeros, or digits, or one or two words for each question. However, the thought processes involved in arriving at the correct answer do not suffer by comparison with those involved in the answering of old-type questions. No invidious aspersions on the old-type examinations are intended here. In summarizing the advantages of these objective tests I mean simply that in them we have tests of high reliability and validity and of great administrative convenience and of experimentally demonstrated equality of difficulty, which, if wisely used, will be invaluable supplements to the old type examinations now currently used. Perhaps the greatest weakness of the old type examinations, arising from the subjectivity of their scoring as well as from their meagre sampling of materials, is that they vary in difficulty from place to place and from year to year, and therefore cannot give us comparable measures. The Columbia Research Bureau standardized achievement test in American History already exists in two equivalent Forms, and additional Forms of experimentally demonstrated equivalence will be added as needed.

In the second place the questions were designed so that the whole test would be equitably representative of the various aspects of American History which are approved by the best authorities available. Apportionments of the questions were agreed upon in advance of the actual construction of the questions for the following divisions: political, social, economic, religious and educational. Apportionments of numbers of questions were also made in advance as to the various periods of American History. Thus, fifty percent of the questions relate to post-Civil War times. Roughly half of the questions deal primarily with what we call political material; but even in the questions which we have classed as political there is a considerable fringe of social, economic, geographical and chronological material. About 15% of the questions are primarily social, about 25% economic and about 10% religious and educational in nature. Each Form of the test consists of four parts, as follows: Part I, 80 true and false statements; Part II, 50 matching

items, Part III, 50 five-response multiple choice questions; and Part IV, 20 completion sentences.

It may seem to some readers that these questions are too much concerned with mere facts and do not give the students the opportunity to display their reasoning powers, and consequently that the test is more a measure of memory than of genuine ability in History. Some teachers may feel that only the old-type essay examination can give adequate measures of true ability in history. All the scientific evidence available is consistent in indicating that the objective types of questions illustrated above are considerably more reliable and valid, unit for unit of examination time, both as measures of knowledge and as measures of reasoning ability, than the old-type essay examinations. However my desire here is not to rely on the invidious aspect of the comparison between new and old-types, or objective and subjective examinations. My attitude is purely constructive. All persons entitled to an opinion agree that both types of tests have unique advantages and values and I only wish to urge History teachers to take advantage of the demonstrated values of the new-type without sacrificing any of the real values of the old-type examinations. Experience has shown that both types of test gain in strength when used together since the use of the new type liberates the old-type examination from its hitherto double function of measuring both breadth of information and organizing ability, and leaves it free to measure that for which it is best adapted, namely, the revelation of historical insight and of comprehensive understanding of the complex movements and interrelations of history through the writing of well-organized essays on topics large enough to admit of this type of discussion within the time limits of most examination periods. Where the new type tests are now in regular use there is a tendency to ask only one or two essay questions per hour. This tendency is thoroughly sound, because it gives the student an opportunity to show his powers without the handicap of having to hurry and without the temptation, amounting almost to duress, to hasty and disordered thinking and badly organized writing.

While the evidence on the value of the objective types of questions is convincing there are certain *a priori* considerations which may help the non-technical reader to accept the new-type test without fear. The clear-cut contrast which many people make

between knowledge, on the one hand, and reasoning ability, on the other, is largely a relic of the now thoroughly discredited "faculty psychology" of earlier decades. All the available evidence tends to show that ability to acquire and remember facts and the ability to reason with them are very highly interdependent. It is obvious that we cannot think without facts to think with and it is equally true that we cannot remember large masses of facts without organizing them in the mind in appropriate and coherent systems of ideas. Some teachers insist that they are quite willing to give high grades to students who show reasoning ability, even though they are extremely weak as to a comprehensive knowledge of the facts of history. This seems to me to be a dangerous attitude for two reasons. First, it encourages a disembodied type of thinking without facts, of which we have already had too much, both in public and in private life. Secondly, if carried to its logical conclusion we should have to give high marks in history to any exceedingly intelligent person whether he has learned any history or made any effort to learn it or not. In history more than in any other subject matter cold facts have greater disciplinary powers than all the rules of logic; and it is of doubtful pedagogical value to invite students to write about such complex topics as ordinarily are used in old-type examinations before they have given evidence that they are sufficiently acquainted with the primary facts involved to make a sound discussion of the topic really possible.

Moreover, it is entirely possible to construct objective questions which demand not only knowledge of facts but also reasoning and judgment for a correct answer. The authors of the test have tried to make every question involve both knowledge and reasoning ability, although they are not at all convinced that they have been successful in every case. However this may be, teachers of history may use this test with the certainty that, either alone or in combination with an essay examination, it will give more accurate and valid measures of achievement in American History than the old-type examination alone will give.

The American History tests, with the others mentioned above, are only a beginning at the important task of supplying the colleges and secondary schools with crucially needed instruments for securing that minimal information about the defined achievements of our students without which the proper educational guidance and

efficient teaching of them will remain a pious dream. Some teachers have intimated that a test of 200 questions is unreasonably long. As a matter of fact it is much too short to give us the accurate measures that we need. We must become used to longer examinations, of 500 or more questions, in each branch of the social sciences.

The use of examinations for placement purposes is only one aspect of the measurement problem. The principle of placement tests is just as valid in one subject as in another and in one year or school grade as in another. This placement test happens to be for the later high school and early college years, but good placement tests should be used at every rung on the educational ladder. It is just as important that students should be properly placed during each of the elementary school grades as during any of the high school or college years.

From a constructive viewpoint, placement tests are more important than final examinations, because they have to do with the educational guidance of the student, while the latter deal mainly with more or less extraneous vanities such as credits, diplomas, honors, etc. It is to be hoped that this fact will sometime be recognized in actual practice throughout the whole educational ladder.

A recent survey of college examinations¹ indicates that we have seriously underestimated both the importance and the difficulty of constructing good examinations and of using their results wisely. Most of the school examinations used in this country today, even those of the standard examining agencies, are constructed largely on the basis of the subjective opinions of subject matter specialists. Very rarely, if at all, are their opinions on the difficulties and measurement values of their questions checked with objective or experimental data. It is not uncommon for an examination committee to construct in one afternoon the first draft of an examination that is to affect the college admission chances of thousands of the best high school graduates in the country. It is true that most of these examinations are reviewed by one or more Boards of Review, but these revisions, if any, are almost invariably based on subjective opinions, uncontaminated by experimental evidence.

¹See Title 6, Bibliography at end of this article.

Moreover, such values as examinations so casually constructed may have are greatly attenuated by the fact that the examinations are administered largely as disciplinary, punitive or pedagogical devices, and the resulting grades are interpreted with overtones of heavily moralistic approval or disapproval—as signs of “failure” or of “mediocrity” or of “honor”.

Examinations will reach their greatest usefulness when they are constructed more carefully and scientifically, when they give more accurate and meaningful measures, and when these measures are used in more constructive spirit than at present. The only legitimate purpose of examinations is to give us accurate descriptions of defined achievements; and the only legitimate excuse for securing such descriptions is for use in the constructive guidance of students up the educational ladder for the development of their highest potentialities, whatever their kind or degree.²

BEN D. WOOD

²COLUMBIA RESEARCH BUREAU AMERICAN HISTORY TEST *By* HARRY J. CARMAN, Associate Professor of History, Columbia University; THOMAS N. BARROWS, The Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University; and BEN D. WOOD, Associate Professor and Director Bureau of Collegiate Educational Research, Columbia College, Columbia University. A copy of this test will gladly be sent to teachers who will write to Mr. Thomas N. Barrows, The Lincoln School, 425 West 123rd St., New York City, giving the name of the school, city, number of students in American History classes, and other relevant information. Teachers who wish to use the test for research purposes or as final examinations may secure copies of the test in quantity at cost if they will agree to return the papers, after they have been scored, to Mr. Barrows. This offer is made for the sake of supplying adequate norms of achievement at the earliest possible date for general use by history teachers. Criticisms and suggestions on the test will be greatly appreciated.

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Mr. Chairman and Members of the Association;

At the conclusion of a New York State Regents examination the candidate is required to write "I do so declare that I have neither given nor received aid", I inserted this statement that you may know that I have not seen Professor Wood's manuscript beforehand (a fact of which you will be fully cognizant when I finish) and that what I have to say will be the synopsis of my own musings.

If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the mountain. And, as I recall, that is what Mahomet did. To me it appears that we have been waiting for the pupil to come to us with his problems but under the new scheme of testing we are going to the pupil; which, I believe, is wiser. The new type examination has taught us to weigh our questions, and to endeavor to see the pupil's standpoint. At least I feel that it has taught me to weigh my questions more carefully. A number of years ago I asked for an explanation of the X, Y, Z Affair and I received this illuminating answer: "Mr. X, Mr. Y, and Mr. Z were three men. Nobody ever knew who they were."

At the Masten Park High School we have experimented with the Barr Diagnostic, the Hill, and the Brown-Woody tests and a number of other scales which employ the true-false, multiple choice, arrangement, vocabulary, and completion tests. The Barr Diagnostic Test was not put on a time basis, due to difficulty in arranging our examination schedules, but we used a regular two hour examination period. We also deemed it wise to allow two hours because we had not covered the entire field in American

History, save by occasional current events work. The Barr Diagnostic Test, Series 2 A, is composed of five parts: (1) comprehension, (2) chronological judgment, (3) historical evidence, (4) evaluation of facts, and (5) causal relationships. The test showed a median of 67, probably higher than would have been the result if we had limited the time to thirty minutes. The chief difficulty the pupils experienced was with the comprehension and historical evidence sections. I believe this test is a good one; although the scoring runs into fractions, and I do not think that many of the ratings assigned (particularly as to evaluation of facts) are of equal importance.

What is the reaction on the part of the pupil? On the whole, I think that he is more interested in that he understands why he was marked as he is. There is less opportunity for blaming the teacher. The pupil's reaction reflects the practical viewpoint of most high school pupils.

How do the teachers feel toward this new type of testing? There is divided opinion; chiefly due, shall I say, to professional jealousy. These tests are still in the experimental stage; we have not yet agreed on the important topics in the Social Sciences. In this connection I believe that history teachers and not psychologists should set the questions. It is difficult to make good sets of questions, but that will come with practice.

The crux of the problem is the placing of the pupils after we have given the tests. At Masten Park we have a two platoon system; running classes from 8 to 12.30 and from 1-5. Consequently we are handicapped in time and space. These schedule difficulties have been impressed upon me since I have had charge of the afternoon session. True, we resort to promotion and demotion and have formed special review classes but there is much to be done in the way of individual attention.

One of the most interesting books I have recently reviewed is "Are We Making Good at Teaching History" by W. J. Osburn. This is a study of the present status of testing in History and suggestions as to improvement in such testing. This survey of 2250 examination papers from all the states of the union was made possible by a grant from the Commonwealth Fund to the State Department of Public Instruction in Wisconsin. The text is published by the Public School Publishing Company of Bloomington.

ton, Illinois. Let me quote a few extracts: "The study shows that the crying need of all history teaching is to concentrate on something and teach it well." "We need very badly a new technique of teaching—one that will require the child to think for himself rather than memorize the thought of the author or teacher."

In conclusion, my opinion is that the first requirement is revision of our history standards, especially as to content of course. When there has been substantial agreement upon that subject, the placement of pupils will be worked out.

RALPH W. PENNIMAN.

DISCUSSION OF THE SHORT-ANSWER TYPE OF PLACEMENT EXAMINATION

SUPPORTED BY MR. BEN WOOD, AND REFERRED TO IN HIS BOOK ON
"MEASUREMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION".*

Placement examinations are always advisable if we are to get the most from our students. The most effective placement tests will always be the most effective tests of ability in general. There is nothing peculiar in placement testing.

I have for the past five years used the various short-answer types of examination referred to:

- (1) the right-wrong series of questions
- (2) the multiple choice type of test, and
- (3) the completion test.

Personally I have found the multiple choice type of examination the most effective short answer type, as chance and the guessing attitude are not so prominent as in (1), and as (3) is apt to involve too much stereotyped memory of the rote type.

The positive or favorable aspects of the short-answer tests are:

1. In a given unit of time (e. g. an hour) a more reliable index of ability and worth can be determined than in a much longer period by the long answer free questions. Recent evidence for

*This is a brief abstract of a paper given at the University of Buffalo, Nov. 27, 1926 by Edward S. Jones, Professor of Psychology.

this has been deduced by Ruch and others on the basis of examinations of both kind given in New York City for the recent graduates of normal schools.

2. They are liked by students because, I believe, they are relatively free from vagueness and ambiguity—when properly worked up. Students are satisfied with low marks when received in these tests as they often are not with the other type of test.

3. I believe they can include questions of relationship, and appreciation which are important and hard to touch on in a few long-answer questions.

The disadvantages or limitations of the short-answer questions include, I believe, the following:

1. They require a long period of preparation, and some expense, in their preparation. Questions must be checked by more than one person, mimeographed, and preferably given in a large room where students can take alternate seats, (as copying is extremely easy). I doubt if they are an economy in time unless more than 25 are to be tested.

2. They do not test everything. They neglect the capacity to emphasize and organize. They ignore the ability to express bits of research or convictions that may have been arrived at through extensive individual training.

Recently in a sub-freshman class at the University of Buffalo, of 30 men, 20 were found to get the same relative standing or nearly so in many short-answer tests as in a final three hour long-answer examination. Ten men showed very different marks in the two types of examinations. From casual inspection it appears that one type of examination is as important as the other, i. e. that the best score for these 10 individuals was mid-way between the two divergent marks.

THE PROBLEM OF HISTORY AND SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE SCHOOLS

The study panned by the American Historical Association Committee, should render a much needed service to education in dealing with the problem of social studies teaching from a national point of view. Teachers themselves need to see steadily and in its entirety the whole picture. Those familiar with Dr. Dawson's *History Inquiry* will recall that conditions with regard to history and other social studies were a good deal like that of the well known picture in Cubist art, whose baptismal name "Nude Descending the Staircase" was soon changed to the more descriptive title "An Explosion in a Shingle Factory".

Considered nationally there is indeed to-day great confusion as to both terminology and content of courses in the social studies. There are, one report says, at least twenty-four different courses in social studies offered in the secondary schools, and again we hear of one course given the same title and presented in all the grades from the fourth to the fourteenth. We have in some places, not in isolated schools off in remote hills, but in places of considerable importance, the attempt to teach international complications to seventh grade children; while elsewhere the story of Columbus, jewels and all, is being presented to youths in the twelfth grade. Conditions, however, are not so extreme as this in any one given place, and in very many schools excellent work is being done.

In the course of its work the Committee has been greatly impressed by the importance that is now attached to the social subjects all over the country. History teachers in the past have, to be sure, been accustomed to consider their subject of the very first importance, but to-day it will be found that this opinion is being shared to school administrators and by those engaged in educational research. However, it must be admitted, that a recognition of the value of the subject and the will to do something about it do not necessarily mean that actual achievement is possible. A few years ago, impressed with the civic significance of the social studies, one superintendent stated in his introduction to a course of study that "the social studies are the "core of the curriculum", but, in spite of this expression of opinion, when his curriculum made its appearance there was included in it but one course

from the whole social studies group! Today, however, the tide has turned and we no longer find such a disparity between the ideal and the achievement. There is without doubt a growing interest in these subjects and their proper presentation has become one of the large problems of education.

The interest which has in recent years arisen in circles other than those professionally trained in history or any of the kindred subjects, must be carefully distinguished from that which prevailed during the war and concerned itself in the production of one hundred percent Americanism." Much of this present interest is exceedingly good and helpful. However, some of these laymen anxious to put their ideas into effect immediately disregard pedagogical skills. For instance, there are those enthusiasts who would teach all children the constitution and propose to do so by the simple method of merely having it read. Such inexperienced people seem not to realize that the constitution can not be taught without a good deal of clear thinking extending over a long period of time. This unprofessional interest in social studies was formerly confined to the political and religious group, but now it has extended to economic, social and other organizations as well. Miss Bessie Pierce's recent book indicates some of the ramifications. The results have been both good and bad, but, on the whole, there has been in consequence much better teaching.

Educational administrators and these engaged in educational research yield to none in the degree of their interest. Among these the work of Professor Harold Rugg at Teachers College has been especially interesting. As a result of this and of other recent new interpretations of the social studies, there has arisen an astonishing amount of activity and much discussion. History teachers of long experience have sometimes been rather irritated by the raising of some questions which to their thinking had been settled long ago. The lack of background of some of the critics has led to many mistakes and much evident waste effort, but nevertheless much has been accomplished and attention has been called to the fact that the work in the reorganization of history teaching has only just begun. The agitation has furthermore emphasized need for correlation of the social studies with other fields.

At present there is undoubtedly a chaotic condition all over the country and there are to be found every gradation in class-room

practice, in the matters of method of approach, in presentation, and in the use of textbooks. In the last, there exist all manner of practices ranging all the way from the most slavish memorization, to the writing of the text by the pupils themselves. In the matter of correlation one superintendent stated that he had to choose between the principles of "fusion, diffusion and confusion, integration and disintegration. There are to-day indeed no recognized standards in these courses.

There can be no doubt that for the next few years the social studies will offer a fruitful field for research, and that research of a peculiar kind is greatly needed if the situation is to be clarified. Work of this nature can be done most satisfactorily by individuals who have had teaching experience, who understand their subject and are anxious to go on with graduate work. Experimentation of every description will be needed, new types of tests must be devised, and these tests to be really satisfactory should be the work of the history people themselves, consulting with the psychologists. A second need just now is for trained supervisors, and also for facilities for special training in supervision. A small beginning has already been made in this direction, but in the future there is every probability that great development will take place.

A. C. KREY.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE ON COLLEGE CREDIT FOR COURSES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE OF THE ASSOCIA- TION OF HISTORY TEACHERS OF THE MIDDLE STATES AND MARYLAND

PRESENTED TO THE ASSOCIATION MAY 8, 1926
AT NEW BRUNSWICK*

In recent years educators the country over have been giving more and more attention to the social sciences in our secondary schools. Everywhere there has been an increasing demand for the introduction of courses which would train for citizenship and social-mindedness. In response to this demand, courses (usually one-half year) in Economics, Civics and Sociology have been made part of the curriculum of many of our high schools. Of even greater significance is the fact that general courses in social science, such as Community Civics, Problems of Democracy, etc., have been added and, in some cases have, like the specialized courses, been made mandatory. While it is not the purpose of your Committee to discuss the relative merits of the general course and the specialized courses in each of the social sciences, it would, nevertheless, call to your attention the facts stressed by the Committee on Social Studies: First, that it is impracticable to include in the high school program a comprehensive course in each of the social sciences; and secondly, that "it is unjust to the pupil that his knowledge of social facts and laws should be limited to the field of any one of them however important that one may be." In the opinion of the Committee "it is far less important that the adolescent youth should acquire a comprehensive knowledge of any or all of the social sciences than it is that he should be given experience and practice in the observation of social phenomena as he encounters them; that he should be brought to understand that every social problem is many-sided and complex; and that he should acquire the habit of forming social judgments only on the basis of dispassionate consideration of all the facts available."

*This report was sent to Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. It was later placed in the hands of a committee for study.

But quite, irrespective of whether the social science course is a general course or one along more specialized lines, students who contemplate entrance to college are handicapped by the fact that at present the vast majority of colleges do not recognize the social science courses above mentioned even as free electives for college entrance. This attitude on the part of the colleges is due in part to tradition, but more especially to the fact that the courses differ so much among themselves. Before including a new subject in the list of entrance subjects there must be some agreement as to what it is. Some colleges accept nothing without examination. Most others require examination in case the candidate's record is not high. In either case, definition of the subject is necessary, and in any case a college should not be expected to accept the name of a new subject of study without knowing what the name represents.

To remedy the difficulty faced by both the secondary school and the college, your Committee begs to submit the following for your consideration:

That this Association recommend that college authorities allow one unit of credit for any one of the following combinations:

- A. Modern Problems including Economics, Government and Sociology.
- B. Economics and Government (Civics)
- C. Economics and Sociology.
- D. Government and Sociology.

Each combination presupposes a full year of study in a secondary school, five periods per week, or the equivalent of such a year of study. This year of study may have been divided between any two or three of the subjects mentioned above, or it may have been given to a full year course such as is sometimes designated "Problems of Democracy," "Problems of Citizenship," "Social Sciences," etc.

SUBJECT MATTER

In preparing the list of topics below we have kept in mind the need for flexibility and in consequence we have usually included a wider range of topics than would be covered in most courses. But we wish to recognize explicitly that even the included range

may not be sufficient. It is meant only to be suggestive. College entrance requirements ought not to dominate secondary school work in any of its parts, but they ought to be framed with especial care to avoid the prevention of progress in the teaching of social science. It is hoped that this attitude is sufficiently reflected in the suggestions that are made below.

I. *ECONOMICS*. For those offering a combination including *Economics* the preparation should cover the study of such topics as the following as presented in standard textbooks for high schools. Other topics might be included and some of these might be omitted.

I.

1. The choice of goods.
2. The different ways of using goods.
3. Family and other budgets as the means of bettering use of goods.

II.

4. Physical science and the production of goods. Natural resources.
5. Human organization for production.
6. The problems consequent on our method of human grouping in industry.
7. The forms of business ownership.
8. The technique of factory production.
9. The technique of farm production.
10. The problems of marketing in general.
11. The difficulties of co-ordinating and controlling productive factors.
12. Economic prosperity and depression.
13. Shifting levels of prices and their control.
14. Economic value and the determination of price.
15. The financial institutions of society and their control.
16. Problems consequent on the concentration and urbanization of industry.
17. The machine technique and its human effects.
18. Survey of resources and their probable future.
19. Extent of our domestic and foreign trade and some of the more important problems involved.

III.

20. The national income.
21. The manner of its apportionment.
22. The study of wages, profits, interest, and rent.
23. Poverty and comfort; their extent and modificability

IV.

24. Schemes that have been advanced for economic reorganization.
25. The proposals made by the socialists, the guild socialists and the syndicalists.

II. *GOVERNMENT*. The teaching of the material under the head *Government* (Civics, Politics) may be approached from many different angles and with varying emphases upon local *vs.* central government and upon governmental structure *vs.* functions. Such topics as the following (treated in the detail given in standard texts for high schools) illustrate the nature of the material involved, although not the manner of its treatment.

1. Why government exists; its part in social organization.
2. The framework of American government, (national, state and local), including such essential features as the following: written constitutions; the federal system of national and state powers; the powers of local governments—cities, counties, villages; the “separation of powers” and the scheme of a popularly-elected chief executive (president, governor, mayor), in contrast to Parliamentary government and also in contrast to the “commission” and “city manager” types of organization; the power of the courts to declare laws unconstitutional.
3. The individual citizen’s contact with the framework of government; suffrage, including naturalization; the “long” and “short” ballot ideas of popular control.
4. Political parties, including their year-in-and-year-out organization (national and local, and their methods in nominations (conventions and direct primary), propaganda and elections.
5. The characteristic methods of making laws in the United States, by Congress and by State legislatures, including the committee system; steps in the enactment of bills; the powers of the president and the governor over bills; the initiative and referendum as supplementary methods.
6. Administrative problems, common to all units of government; organization of departments, including the movement for departmental reorganization and consolidation in national and state governments; the civil service, including the spoils system and the merit system.

7. Finance, including problems of just and practicable taxation, and also of wise and foolish economy, with attention to the idea of a budget.
8. Justice and order, including contrasts between procedure in criminal law and the steps in the enforcement of the criminal law (police, prosecuting officers, courts, jails).
9. Activities in behalf of human welfare, such as education, health, public recreational facilities, relief of poverty and dependency.
10. American foreign affairs, including the way war is declared, the way treaties are made, the distinction between the diplomatic service and the consular service, and the administration of territories and dependencies.
11. International government, including the numerous administrative conferences and agreements, as well as the League of Nations and the World Court.

III. *SOCIOLOGY*. The preparation in *Sociology* should include the study of such subjects as the following as presented in standard textbooks for high schools. Owing to the limitations of most high school texts in this field it is not expected that students will have studied all the topics listed below.

1. The general nature of society and of social behavior.
2. The origin and development of social organizations and of social institutions.
3. The make-up and organization of the social population.
4. Population growth, density and migration.
5. Problems of race and race problems.
6. Human nature in relation to folkways, customs.
7. Group solidarity, social pressure, taboo and sanction.
8. Group control through mores, institutions, cooperation and government.
9. Problems of democracy and of social self-control.
10. Problems of social welfare.
11. Eugenics, education, the development of the social personality.

Signed

FRANCES MOREHOUSE,
Teachers College,
Columbia University,
New York City.

HARVEY J. CARMAN,
Columbia University,
New York City.

EDGAR C. BYE,
High School,
Coatsville, Pa.

JESSIE C. EVANS,
William Penn High School.

STANDARDS FOR THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES IN HIGH SCHOOLS

Adopted by the National Council for Social Studies,
February, 1925

Presented to the Council of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, approved by them and sent on to the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland for their consideration and possible action.

EDWARD P. SMITH,

Chairman of the Committee on Teacher Training for Secondary Schools.

1. The social studies including history, economics, sociology and government, if offered, are organized in one department unless the school is so large that separate departments are required for one or more of these studies.
2. The minimum preparation of any teacher of history, economics, sociology or government in subject matter, shall be 30% of the total requirements for the Bachelor's degree in the four subjects of history, economics, sociology and government; of which at least 15% of the total requirements shall be in the selected major study, and the other 15% in the other three, with a minimum of 5% in history.

Note:—translated into credit hours, this standard means that if 120 hours are required for the Bachelor's degree, a minimum of 36 credit hours in the social studies is required; of these 18 hours must be the selected major, and 18 hours in the three other social studies, with a minimum of 6 credit hours in history.

3. The minimum preparation of any teacher of history, economics, sociology or government in Education, shall be 10% of the total requirements for the Bachelor's degree in educational subjects; and these subjects shall include general and special high school method, and practice teaching.

Note:—translated into credit hours, this standard means that if 120 hours are required for the bachelor's degree, 12 hours of Education is required.

RESOLUTIONS

RESOLVED:—That this organization goes on record as opposed to the so-called "Blanket" teaching certificate, and favors the group certificate. It favors the inclusion of history, geography, economics, sociology and government in the social studies certificate given.

The Committee on Teacher Training of the Middle States and Maryland offers the following recommendations to the Council and if approved by them their adoption by the Association:

1. Approval of item 1 of the resolutions adopted by the National Council for Social Studies.
2. Approval of items 2 and 3 as desirable standards for the guidance of teacher training institutions.
3. Hearty approval of the resolution opposing the blanket certificate.
4. Recommendation to state licensing authorities that they adopt the following requirements as a step toward the desirable standards set forth above: After September 1928 no teacher shall be granted a license to teach the social studies who has not completed in college 24 credit hours in subject matter in the social studies. After September 1930 the requirements shall be 30 credit hours.

Signed

EDGAR DAWSON,
Hunter College,
New York City.

J. LYNN BARNARD,
State Education Department,
Harrisburg, Pa.

E. CLARKE FONTAINE,
State Education Department,
Baltimore, Maryland.

EDWARD P. SMITH,
State Education Department,
Albany, N. Y.

FLORENCE E. STRYKER,
State Normal School,
Upper Montclair, N. J.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1925-1926

May 8, 1926

RECEIPTS

Cash balance April 29, 1925.....	\$ 483.38
Balance paid back to Treasury after Philadelphia meeting.....	9.10
Dues collected during fiscal year 1925-1926.....	499.00
Advertisements in Proceedings.....	130.00
Sale of Proceedings.....	101.00
Interest on bank deposits.....	12.93
Gift, in addition to dues, given by one member.....	1.00
Total Receipts.....	\$1,236.41

EXPENDITURES

Expenses of speakers at meetings.....	\$ 44.89
Other expenses at meetings; dinner guests, tips for waiters, etc.....	25.20
Expenses of secretary in going to meetings at Phila. and N. Y. C.....	20.20
Printing programs.....	32.00
Office equipment.....	5.00
Postage and stationery.....	96.68
Multigraphing notices.....	40.60
Clerical Assistance.....	102.40
Publishing Proceedings.....	335.21
Printing membership lists.....	14.50
Balance on hand.....	519.73
	\$ 1,236.41

LENA C. VAN BIBBER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

May 8, 1926.

Audited and Found Correct,
IRVING S. KULL.

REPORT OF MEMBERSHIP

November, 1926

Members enrolled in 1926

Paid-up membership

Reported at May meeting.....	340
Recorded members, paid since May Meeting	99
New members joined since May.....	42
Total paid-up membership.....	481

Non-paying members..... 3

Members in arrears

For one year.....	93
For two years.....	27
Total members in arrears.....	120
Total enrolled.....	604

Members withdrawn since May

Deceased.....	2
Resigned.....	11
Not located.....	1
Dropped from roll.....	16
Total withdrawn.....	30

LENA VAN C. BIBBER

Secretary-Treasurer.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. *Name and Purpose*

This Association shall be known as the "Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland". Its purpose shall be two-fold: First, to advance the study and teaching of history and other social sciences through discussion and publication and, secondly, to promote personal acquaintance among teachers and students in these fields.

ARTICLE II. *Membership*

Any one interested in the study or teaching of history and other social sciences in the Middle States and Maryland shall be eligible to membership. Application for membership shall be accepted or rejected by a vote of the Council at its meeting next following the receipts of such application.

ARTICLE III. *Officers*

Section 1. There shall be a President, a Vice-President and a Secretary-Treasurer, elected by ballot at the annual spring meeting. Their duties shall be those usually attached to their respective offices. The Secretary-Treasurer shall carefully preserve records of all meetings of the Council and of all business sessions of the Association; and these and other important records and correspondence shall be kept on file in the office of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. The general direction of the affairs of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of the three officers, the former presidents of the Association, two members elected annually and one delegate each appointed annually by such local associations as the Council may from time to time designate for this purpose.

ARTICLE IV. *Meetings*

The annual meeting of the Association shall be held at the time and place designated by the Council.

ARTICLE V. *Fiscal Year and Dues*

The fiscal year shall begin with the annual business meeting. The membership fee shall be one dollar, payable annually in April for the ensuing year. Members who have not paid their dues for the current year shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the Association while in arrears, and members who are two years in arrears and have received three notices of their indebtedness shall be regarded as having forfeited their membership.

ARTICLE VI. *Amendments*

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present, notice of the proposed amendment having been given *in advance of the meeting*.

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

University of California, Berkeley, California
Pomona College Library, Claremont, California
Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California
Library, University of Southern California, California
Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado
The College Library, Colorado, Greeley, Colorado
Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut
General Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia
The Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Illinois
The John Crerar Library, Chicago, Illinois
General Library, University of Chicago, Illinois
University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Illinois
Library, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa
Columbia College Library, Dubuque, Iowa
Library, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Cornell College Library, Mount Vernon, Iowa
Kellogg Library, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas
Library of State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kansas
Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Maryland
Converse Memorial Library, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts
Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Smith College Library, Northampton, Massachusetts
Wellesley College Library, Wellesley 81, Massachusetts
General Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
The Public Library, Detroit, Michigan
Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri
St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Missouri
Library, State University, Missoula, Montana
Library, Nebraska University, Lincoln, Nebraska
The Public Library, Newark, New Jersey
Rutgers College Library, New Brunswick, New Jersey
New York State Library, New York University, Albany, New York
Alfred University Library, Alfred, New York
Wells College Library, Aurora, New York
Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, New York
Buffalo Public Library, Buffalo, New York
The Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, New York
Hobart College Library, Geneva, New York
Colgate University Library, Hamilton, New York

Bryson Library, Teachers College, New York City
New York Public Library, New York City
Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York
Library, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina
Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio
College for Women Library, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oregon
Oregon State Library, Salem, Oregon
The Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas
Lawrence College Library, Appleton, Wisconsin
Library of University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

THE COUNCIL

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WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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KATHRYN E. C. CARRIGAN
ATLANTIC CITY HIGH SCHOOL

Secretary-Treasurer

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MARYLAND STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, TOWSON, MARYLAND

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Lucy Salmon, Vassar College
C. M. Andrews, Yale University
J. H. Robinson, New School for Social Research, New York City
C. A. Herrick, Girard College
Eleanor L. Lord, Smith College
H. V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania
James Sullivan, Assistant Commissioner for Secondary Education,
Albany, N. Y.
Edgar Dawson, Hunter College
A. E. McKinley, Editor, Historical Outlook
Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University
J. M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University
Jessie C. Evans, William Penn High School, Philadelphia
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L. R. Schuyler, College of the City of New York
D. C. Knowlton, Lincoln School of Teachers College, New York City
A. K. Heckel, University of Missouri
R. W. Kelsey, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
J. M. Gambrill, Teachers College, Columbia University
F. E. Moyer, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City
J. H. Latané, Johns Hopkins University
J. L. Barnard, Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction.

Elected Members

Mildred M. Coughlin, Forest Park High School, Baltimore, Md.
Harry T. Carman, Columbia University

Delegates from Conferences

Mary C. Ott, History Teacher's Association of Maryland
Clarence W. Miner, New York Council for Social Studies
Anna C. Clauder, History Club of Philadelphia
John T. Greenan, New Jersey Association of Teachers of Social Science

LIST OF MEMBERS

Note:—The arrangement in this list is: (1) name, (2) official address, (3) residence. The city or postoffice address is given only once if it is the same for both (2) and (3).

Adams, Charles E., Polytechnic Institute, Baltimore, Md., 3211 Belmont Ave.
Adams, Gladys, West Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa.
Addis, Barbara, State Normal School, New Britain, Conn.
Adele, Sister M., Villa Maria College, Immaculata, Pa.
Adrianee, Robert I., East Orange High School, East Orange, N. J.,
178 N. Walnut St.
Albert, Grace, Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa., The College Inn.
Alderfer, Clement J., Supervising Principal of Schools, Broad St.,
Port Allegany, Pa.
Allen, Freeman H., Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., 44 Broad St.
Allen, Joseph Dana, Headmaster, Polytechnic Preparatory Country Day
School, Brooklyn, N. Y., 200 Hicks St.
Allison, William H., Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., 15 E. Kendrick Ave.
Ames, Herman V., Dean of Graduate School, University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa., 203 St. Mark's Square.
Ammarell, Raymond Robert, Barringer High School, Newark, N. J.,
41 Llewellyn Ave., Hawthorne, N. J.
Anderson, Grace Estey, Miss Beard's School, Orange, N. J.
Andrews, Arthur I., University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Andrew, L. Elizabeth, 3305 Windsor Mill Road, Baltimore, Md.
Andrews, Ada Mary, 3305 Windsor Mill Road, Baltimore, Md.
Andrews, Charles M., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Andrews, Elizabeth Agnes, Miss Wright's School, Bryn Mawr, Pa.,
307 Berkeley Road, Merion, Pa.
Andrews, Grace, James Madison High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.,
65 Jefferson Ave.
Arthur, L. Louise, Bryant High School, Long Island City, N. Y.,
4144 Gosman Ave.

- Austin, Margaret F., James Monroe High School, New York City,
2406 Frisby Avenue, Bronx.
- Ayers, Amy M., 950 Salem Ave., Elizabeth, N. J.
- Bachrach, Helen, Western High School, Baltimore, Md., 20 Overhill Road,
Roland Park.
- Bacon, Edna Lorine, East Side High School, Newark, N. J., 87 Fourth Ave.
- Bader, Harriet, Maryland State Normal School, Towson, Md.
- Bagley, William C., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.
- Baird, Mildred, South Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa.,
547 Forest Ave., Drexel Hill.
- Baker-Crothers, Hayes, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
- Baldwin, Frances Elizabeth, Hood College, Frederick, Md.,
147 W. Lanvale St., Baltimore, Md.
- Baldwin, James Fosdick, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.,
160 College Ave.
- Bamberger, Florence Eilau, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.,
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- Gibson, Achsah Elizabeth, Edgar Allan Poe School, Baltimore, Md.,
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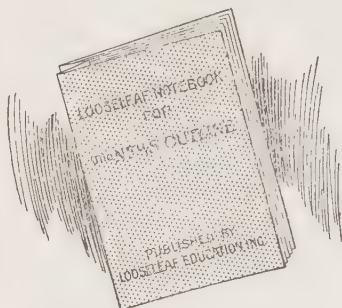
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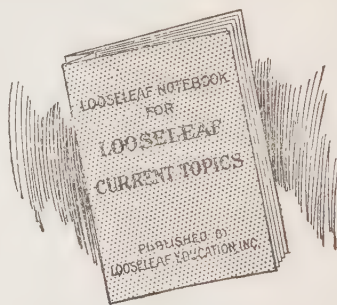
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